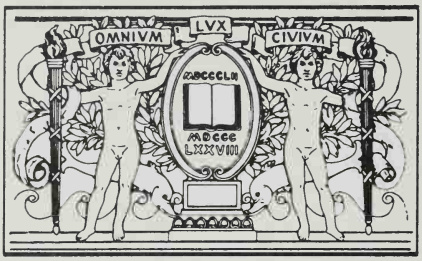
# In The Shadow Of Mount Leinster

ART KAVANAGH

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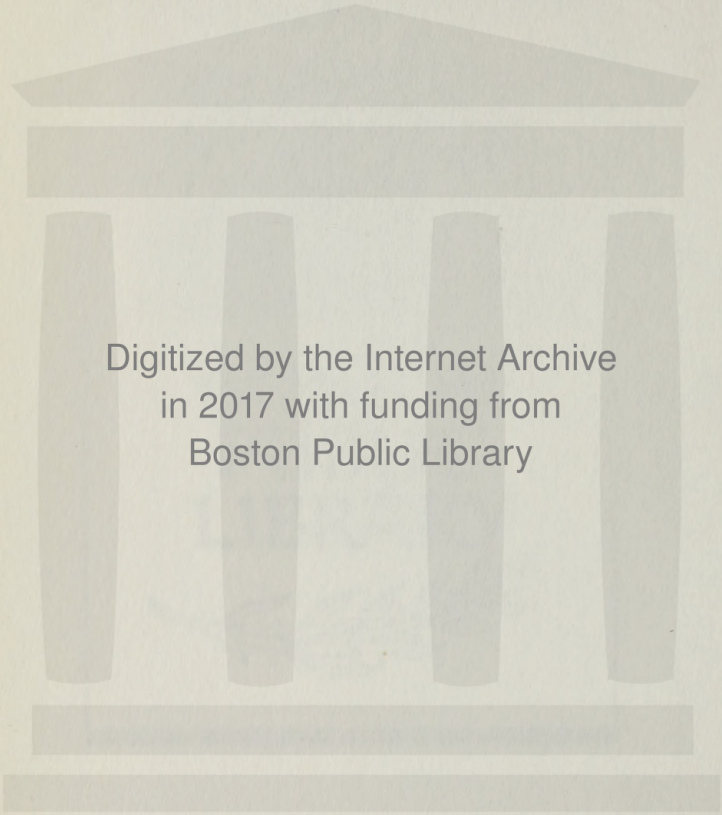
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# In The Shadow Of Mount Leinster

A history of Ui Cinnsealaigh from the earliest times up to 1650, with special emphasis on the Kavanaghs, plus extensive notes on the leading Gaelic families of the district and copious references to the Anglo Norman and English families who found their way here between 1170 and 1650.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# INTRODUCTION

At the time of the Viking invasion, in the 10th century, the district of Ui Cinnsealaigh encompassed all of modern County Wexford, Co. Carlow, and parts of Counties Kildare, Wicklow and Kilkenny.

Ui Cinnsealaigh (translated literally as 'dominant race') derived its name from a tribe of invaders who came from Munster through the pass of Gowran in the 4th century and set up a huge settlement in the area of Rathvilly in Co. Carlow. From this secure base they moved down the valleys of the Slaney and Barrow rivers and pushed the older inhabitants - the Fothairt and the Ui Bearraic peoples in front of them and to the sides towards the mountains.

The Fothairt settled in two distinct areas where their names are still remembered - in the Barony of Forth in Wexford and in the Barony of Forth in Carlow. The Fothairt adopted the name Larkin in Wexford and in Carlow they became known as Nolans. The Ui Bearraic are still remembered in both counties. In Wexford they are remembered in the name of the barony of Bargy and in Carlow they settled in an area which became known as Leath Bhearraic (in the Middle Ages this was called the Leverock) which today has as its epicentre the townland of Barrack near Kildavin. In the South Wicklow / North Wexford mountain area the Ui Bearraic adopted the name O'hAodha or Hughes, while the Carlow branch adopted the name O'Neill and the area of the Leverock encompassed a district then called Fearann O Neill (the district of the O'Neills). The south Wexford Ui Bearraic seem to have adopted the name Cosgar or Cosgrave.

The Ui Cinnsealaigh themselves were composed of several sub tribes that settled in the different areas of the Slaney and Barrow valleys and in the course of time they adopted such names as Kinsella, Kavanagh, Doran, McWadock(Maddock), Redmond, Davis (McDavymore), Murphy, and Hanrick. The Breens and Briens are descended from a tribe that inhabited the area around Fethard / Ross before the Viking invasions and who moved sometime in the 10th century to the area known as the Duffry (an area near the Blackstairs stretching from Rathnure to Carnew and from the Mountains to Enniscorthy, and which got its name from the colour of the oak trees in summer, when seen from a distance, - black). The Doyles, who are very numerous now in Wexford and in the surrounding counties are descended from the Vikings who inhabited the coastal areas in Wicklow and Wexford. The Byrnes came to

Wicklow originally from Laois following the Norman land confiscations and spread into Wexford in the succeeding centuries.

When the Vikings came they terrorised the coastal dwellers but were unable to make much headway against the Ui Cinnsealaigh people in general, because of the topography of the area. They succeeded in establishing towns at Arklow and Wexford and further south at Waterford, and were responsible for the movement of the Sil Brain descendants of Bran Dubh (an early famous King of Leinster) to the Duffry as mentioned above. They did move up the rivers and sacked monasteries situated on them such as St. Mullins on the Barrow, and Ferns on the Bann, which was sacked in 834, 917, 919 and 928. Other settlements on the middle and lower reaches of the Slaney also suffered including Baltinglass and Tullow. They also seem to have overrun the southern part of Wexford including the Baronies of Forth and Bargy where many of them settled.

The topography of Ui Cinnsealaigh deserves mention because it was in a way a bulwark against the incursions not only of the Vikings but later against the Normans and the English of more recent centuries. The vast oak forests that stretched from the foothills of the Blackstairs down to Ross in the south, Enniscorthy in the West, Shillealagh in the north and Muinbheag in the east, provided an impenetrable refuge for the Ui Cinnsealaigh right down to the 17th century when the timber was felled by Henry Wallop and others for use in the ironworks of England and for making barrels. The Normans, in particular were unable to cope with warfare in such inhospitable country and contented themselves with settling on the plains of the south, in Forth, Bargy and Shelmalier, from where in times of duress they were able to have recourse to the ports should it have been necessary to flee.

Interestingly the Ui Cinnsealaigh seem to have been more or less excluded from the mainstream of interprovincial politics (Apart form the reign of Brandubh McEcach who was King of Leinster in the 6th century) until the middle of the 11th century when one Diarmuid Mac Mael na mBo burst upon the national scene. Diarmuid appeared to have aspirations towards the Kingship of all Ireland and succeeded to a certain extent. When he died he was described in the Annals as King of Leinster and of Wales and the Southern half of Ireland.

# FOREWORD

The Kavanaghs of Ui Cinnsealaigh and the other distinguished Irish families who inhabited the district, in medieval times, are worth writing about because of the crucial part they played in the history of the area, and in the history of the nation. These families include the Byrnes, Breens, Briens, Keoghs, Dorans, Bolgers, Nolans, Ryans, Murphys, Neills, Redmonds, Hanricks, Kinsellas, Waddocks, Davises, McDonnells, Cromiens, Hartleys, Harts, Cosgraves, Larkins and Foleys.

Most of the people who now inhabit the area formerly known as Ui Cinnsealaigh are descended from the families mentioned in the previous paragraph, but in many instances they are unaware of the part played by their ancestors in the rich pageant of history that unfolded before the coming of Cromwell, who despoiled their forefathers of their lands and who almost obliterated their existence from the folk memory.

Where are the stories of the great battles fought by the Irish against the English oppressors in the late 16th and early 17th centuries? Where are the stories of atrocities committed on the defenceless people during the same period and during the Crowellian epoch?

There is some evidence that prior to 1798 some of these stories were being kept alive in the folk memory, but following that sad episode in our history, any references to any kind of anti English or anti ascendancy activities were doomed to extinction as any readers of Patrick Kennedy's books will bear witness.

With these points in mind, this book is being written to try to redress the balance and to restore some of what was lost. Hopefully in the process this account may serve to reawaken the pride in locality and in name that was such a force for unifying the people of old and was also a force that helped to regulate behaviour and foster ideals in the populace as a whole.

In the course of compiling this narrative I have drawn largely on Hores History of Wexford, and on Ryan's History of Carlow, in the early parts and a wide variety of sources in the later parts.

# Chapter 1

# THE GAELIC SYSTEM OF LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

N ORDER to better understand the Gaelic way of life it is necessary to examine the structures of Irish society as they were during the period in question.

The system of government in Ireland was dynastic in that the basic unit or sub tribe was ruled by a member of a special family known as the Derb Fine. The sub tribe itself was composed of a number of families most of whom were related. The familiy's wealth was measured by the number of cattle it owned. Land for the use of each family was allocated after the death of the old ruler (Ri) and upon the inauguration of the new ruler. This system of land distribution was called gavelkind. Certain lands were set aside for the use of ruler known as the Ri Tuath and also lands were set aside for the use of the Ruiri - an overlord who was king of an area equivalent to that of a Barony. Further lands in a district were set aside for the use of the King of the whole area, in our case the King of Uí Cinnsealaigh. Lands were not distributed on an equal basis, in the sense that the needs and status of each family was taken into account. In this way the Bards and the Brehons (law interpreters) were given the use of extensive estates as befitted the noble calling to which they were devoted as a family. Similarly, near relatives of the King were given lands befitting their station.

In Uí Cinnsealaigh the McEochaidh (Keoghs) were the Bardic family while the O'Dorain (Dorans) were the Brehons.

In addition to the freeholders mentioned above there were workers who had no lands but were attached to a particular family and there were slaves. In Ireland in the early Middle Ages the female slave called a 'Cumal' was worth one and half milch cows and appeared to be of more value than a male slave.

It was not uncommon for the office of Kingship to be disputed by members of the Derb Fine, especially in the case of election to the office of Ri Ruireach or ruler of the whole tribal area (Uí Cinnsealaigh in our case). Battles were fought between the contenders and their supporters to decide the issue. In the 16th century in Uí Cinnsealaigh this happened on at least two occasions.

In the first instance Cahir McInnycross Kavanagh was opposed by Dowling McDiarmuid Lamhdearg Kavanagh both of whom were supported not alone by their own followers but by the Earls of Kildare and Ormond respectively. In this case the forces of Cahir McInnycross won the day and he became the 'McMurrough' and King of Leinster. In the second instance of a clash for the Kingship, the Polmonty Kavanaghs and the Garryhill Kavanaghs fought a battle in which over one hundred men were killed on both sides. The Polmonty Kavanaghs won the day and Cahir McArt became the 'McMurrouth' and the claimant to be King of Leinster.

The King's duties were laid down by law and he himself had no part in the making of the laws or intrepreting them , but was a law enforcer. In time of war he was the supreme commander. He was given sufficient resources to enable him to keep a sufficient retinue to do his job properly.

The institution of Kingship was very archaic and carried with it the idea that the King was a sacred personage who was responsible for the fertility of the land and abundance of fish in the rivers. If famine prevailed or any other natural calamity occured he was held to be an unjust King.

There were sacred rites associated with the inauguration of the King and the details of these were laid down in the Brehon law. In Uí Cinnsealaigh there were two known sites associated with the inauguration of the Kings - Loggan near Gorey and Mount Leinster - for the inauguration of the Kings of Leinster.

The Law of the Land was the nationally accepted Brehon Law, which in Uí Cinnsealaigh was administered by the Doran family. No member of any other family was permitted to study the Law. The making of a Brehon was a very long and arduous task, and a young man had to spend twenty years studying the laws before he would be admitted to the court of Judges. Brehon Law covered all aspects of intertribal and interpersonal relationships in much the same way as the law is applied today in civilised countries. Many of the Norman magnates who became the powerful rulers of large areas in the later Middel Ages, insisted on the use of the Brehon Law.

One such law was the law of 'cin comhfhocais' which made the ruler responsible for the misdeeds of any of his clan who broke the peace or transgressed the law. Another law was the Law of Restitution, whereby a chief had to return goods stolen by any of his subjects, with interest. Other laws dealt with transhumance or the movement of flocks and herds to high lands in the summer and back to winter quarters in the autumn. In the course of the

transhumance, practically all the sub tribe moved and only the very old and sick were left behind, presumably with their carers.

The Fili or Ollaimh of the clan, the McEochaidhs (Keoghs) in Ui Cinnsealaigh, were the keepers of the genealogies, and as such were held in the highest regard. In fact, when a chieftain was being inaugurated, it was the Ollamh who presented him with the white rod of office, and officiated at the slaying of the white stallion. It was he who recited the genealogy of the King going back to the earliest times. The Ollamh was prepared for his position by long years of training, part of which required him to lie on his ack in a hut or 'both' for weeks at a time to improve his memory and concentration.

It is interesting to note that the Keoghs or McEochaidh are said to be descended from the famous Eochaidh the file or poet, who was the son of Enna Cennselach who ruled Leinster in the 3rd century. In his notes on the parishes of Co. Carlow, O'Donovan the great 19th century antiquarian, wrote an account of the death of Eochaidh. Following some famous poetic contest a dispute arose between Eochaidh and the poet of Niall of the Nine Hostages. Eochaidh who was equally famous for his prodigious strength, slew his opponent. The High King pursued him into Leinster, laid waste the province and forced the Ui Cinnsealaigh to hand over Eochaidh. He carried off his prisoner to Ath Fadhat (Aghade) in Carlow, on the banks of the Slaney, and there left him with a chain around his neck, the end of the chain through a perforated rock, and an iron bar locking the chain on the other side of the stone. As Niall headed northwards, nine of his champions returned to put an end to Eochaidh. When the latter saw them coming, he put forth all his great strength, gave a sudden jerk by which he broke the chain, and seizing the iron bar, attacked and slew the champions. Encouraged by this feat, the Ui Cinnsealaigh rallied and pursued Nialls army, overtaking them near Tullow and inflicting a heavy defeat on them.

O'Donovan goes on to say, that, 'in modern times, human bones and skeletons as well as mouldered pieces of swords and other military equipment have been dug up from time to time, all along from Aghade to Tullow, so that nothing can be more certain than that some bloody conflict took place here at a very remote period.' He also noted that there is an ancient fort near the North end of the parish and '16 chains S.E. of the fort and one and a half chains from the east side of the Clonegal / Carlow road there is a long stone, 12ft. by 5ft., having a hole 6" in diameter near the top. It is called Cloghafile from time immemorial and is said to be the stone to which Eochaidh was bound.'

Another interesting point about the name Eochaidh is that it was the name of St. Aidan's great grandfather and also Aidan's father was himself a poet. Aidan was born in 531 and was made bishop of Ferns in 582 by the orders of Brandubh Mac Echach the then king of Ui Cinnsealaigh and Leinster and from whom the Sil Brain of the Duffry descended (later called Breens and Briens).

One further point is worth noting about the Keoghs or Mac Eochaidh clan. The area around where Groey now stands was described in Norman documents as Kynaloh - it is quich probable this was a corruption of Cineal Eochaidh, denoting the territory occupied by the descendants of Eochaidh. In the same way the Normans described Sil Brain, the district below Ross as Shelburn.

The Christian Religion, when it came, frowned upon the power of the Brehons, Fili and Druids, who like the Fili were required to lay themselves in huts to meditate. But the old religion was slow to become obsolete and it was only by the gradual substitution of customs and places of worship, that the Christian religion became accepted. Many of the old pagan customs were subsumed by the new religion and many of the pagan feasts were blended with new religious festivals. The pagan festivals of Samhain and Bealtaine are still remembered at Hallowe'en and the May bush parade and burning of the bush still recall distant folk memories of ancient Druidic practices. It is commonly agreed by historians that the type of Christianity which became the norm in Ireland, was somewhat removed from the Christian norm in Europe. The Norman invasion of Ireland was made all the more facile by the issuing of the Papal Bill 'Laudabiliter' to Henry II, which gave him permission to invade Ireland so as to bring a reformation to the Church here.

Trading and commerce began in earnest with the foundation of the Viking towns and their gradual, if reluctant and grudging acceptance by the native Irish. A big trade was carried on in hides, and wool which were bought from the Irish and exported to Viking centres in Britain and Europe. The Irish in turn bought cloth, wine and other exotic goods from the townsmen. The relationship between the towns and the Irish continued to be uneasy right up to the time of the Norman invasion and we find that just prior to that event, the very first Kavanagh, Donal the illegitimate son of Diarmuid McMurrough, was in command of an Irish force which defeated the Vikings of Wexford and Forth in a battle near the town.

# ANCIENT ORIGINS OF THE KAVANAGHS AND OTHER IRISH CLANS

As regards the accounts of the evolution of the ancient tribal structure of the peoples of Leinster, we can but make an act of faith in the mythological, oral, folklore which must have formed the basis of the assertions of the scribes and genealogists of old. What can be said with certainty is that the Kavanaghs, and their immediate forebears, the McMurroughs and the Ui Cinnsealaigh descended from some hierarchical grouping of early Celts. According to the Annals of the Four Masters, the McMurrough forebears were directly descended from Milesius of Spain thus:

Millesius
I
Heremon
I
Breasal Bealach
I
Laura mac Breasail
I
Eanna Cinnsealach

Heremon was reputed to have been the seventh son of Milesius of Spain, and the third to produce issue. From him were descended the Kings and nobility of the ancient kingdoms of Connaught, Dalriada (North Antrim), Leinster, Meath and Ossary. Breasal Bealach was the ancestor of the Kavanaghs, Murphys, O'Byrnes, O'Tooles and O'Briens. Laura the son of Breasal Bealach was the second Christian King of Leinster and his son Eanna Cinnsealach was the third. From this man was descended Diarmuid Mac Mael na mBo, who as already mentioned, was the man who when he died was described as the King of Leinster and of Wales and of the Southern Half. According to the Annals he was the 49th Christian King of Leinster and the 177th Milesian ruler of Ireland.

Since many of the early scribes were monks, any accounts of the early history of Ui Cinnsealaigh is bound up with Church history. We must therefore be content with the sections of secular history which they thought fit to include. Fortunately, since the monasteries of the period were often great centres, events of a more secular nature were of particular interest to the monks than might have been otherwise.

One of the earliest accounts of the activities of the Ui Cinnsealaigh for example, comes down to us as an incidental event

which occured when St. Moling was made Archbishop of Ferns in 691. Apparently St. Moling was able to use his good offices to have the Boramha tribute dispensed with. This tribute was being paid annually by the Ui Cinnsealaigh as well as the other Leinstermen to the High King of Ireland. This had come about, when, in the century before Christ, the then King of Leinster, Nuadadh, killed Edersceolus the monarch of Ireland and succeeded to the monarchy himself. However, six months later, Conarius, the son of Edersceolus, killed Nuadadh at the battle of Cliach. Conarius then imposed the great tribute upon the Leinstermen, which consisted of 300 white cows. 300 coverlets (bolts of cloth) 300 porks and 300 golden hilted swords. St. Moling died in 697. and was subsequently recognised as the patron saint of the Ui Cinnsealaigh. However, even though he had managed to have the burdensome tribute dispensed with, St. Moling did not manage to put an end to the bitter and violent power struggles which continued between the Leinstermen and the various monarchs of Ireland. In fact, just thirty years after the death of Moling, war broke out again between the High King andthe Leinstermen. The cause of this war was the attempt by the High King to reimpose the tribute which St. Moling had done away with. In the war between the two, the High King and 160 of his best warriors and several thousand of his soldiers were slain.

There were no further wars between the Leinstermen and the next High King during the decade following, but the Leinstermen were at war with the men of Munster who beat them in 738.

War was an integral part of life for the people of the Middle Ages; it was the means by which major disputes, whether over land or tributes or cattle raids, were settled.

The years 741 to 743 were particularly violent ones for the Leinstermen, as first they were attacked by the High King who inflicted very severe losses upon them, including the loss of the King of Leinster. Another severe loss followed an attack by the High King and the Munstermen in 743.

The next catastrophe to strike, not alone the Leinstermen, but the whole of Ireland, was a devastating famine, which began in 773. Famine was no stranger to the lives of the Irish people down through the ages and its horrific consequences can well be imagined as we witness the same devastation to tribal nations in Africa in modern times. The 773 famine was particularly bad for a pastoral people because it was accompanied by a cattle plague of huge proportions which decimated the animal stocks and reduced the

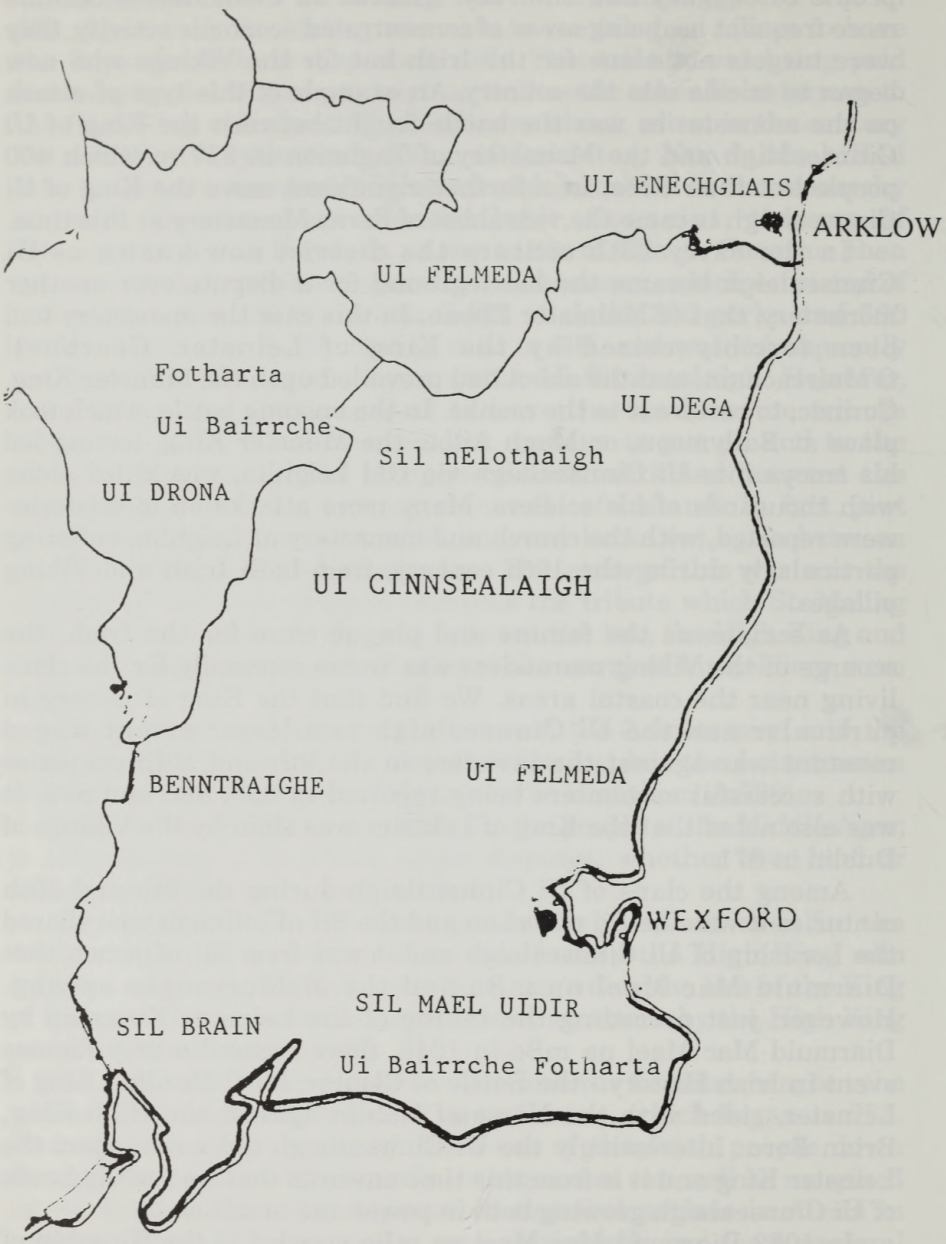
people to beggary and thievery. Attacks on monasteries became more frequent as, being areas of concentrated economic activity, they were targets not alone for the Irish but for the Vikings who now began to trickle into the country. An example of this type of attack on the monasteries was the battle fought between the King of Ui Cinnsealaigh and the Monastery of Taghmon in 817 in which 400 people lost their lives. In a further significant move the King of Ui Cinnsealaigh became the vice abbot of Ferns Monastery at this time.

In the early 10th century the district now known as Ui Cinnsealaigh became the battleground for a dispute over another monastery, that of Mainister Ebban. In this case the monastery had been forcibly seized by the King of Leinster. Cearbhall O'Muireachain, and the abbot had prevailed upon the Munster King, Cormac, to restore it to the monks. In the ensuing battle, which took place at Ballymoon, or Magh Ailbe, the Munster King, having led his troops into Ui Cinnsealaigh via Old Leighlin, was killed along with thousands of his soldiers. Many more attacks on monasteries were reported, with the church and monastery at Leighlin, suffering particularly during the 10th century, from both Irish and Viking pillages.

As serious as the famine and plague were for the Irish, the scourge of the Viking marauders was worse especially for the clans living near the coastal areas. We find that the King of Ossary in particular and the Ui Cinnsealaigh to a lesser extent waged constant war against the invaders in the 9th and 10th centuries with successful encounters being reported in 860, 862 and 892. It was also noted that the King of Leinster was slain by the Vikings of Dublin in 871.

Among the clans of Ui Cinnsealaigh during the 9th and 10th centuries it was the Sil nOnchon and the Sil nElothaigh who shared the Lordship of Ui Cinnsealaigh and it was from Sil nOnchon that Diarmuid Mac Mael na mBo and the McMurroughs sprang. However, just preceding the taking of the Leinster Kingship by Diarmuid Mac Mael na mBo in 1046, there occured a very famous event in Irish History - the Battle of Clontar. Mael Mordha, King of Leinster, sided with the Norse of Dublin against the High King, Brian Boru. Interestingly the Ui Cinnsealaigh did not support the Leinster King and it is from this time onwards that we see the Lords of Ui Cinnsealaigh growing both in power and ambition.

In 1032 Diarmuid Mac Mael na mBo acceded to the Kingship of Ui Cinnsealaigh. From the outset it is clear that Diarmuid aspired to far greater things. Between 1032 and 1036 he systematically




Map of Ui Cinnsealaigh showing the tribal structure c. 800

removed all his dynastic rivals until his hold on Ui Cinnsealaigh was totally secure. His next move was to ally himself with the enemies of the Ui Dunlainge King of Leinster, and in 1037 he attacked the Ui Dunlainge and also plundered the city of Waterford. By 1041 he had become such a threat that those ancient enemies the Kings of Leinster and Munster allied and marched on Ui Cinnsealaigh where they burned Ferns. However, Diarmuid's allies, the Osraighe and the Eoghanacht of Munster, managed to slay the King of Leinster in a pitched battle in 1046 and the way was now clear for Diarmuid to put himself forward as King of Leinster. The Munster King, dissatisfied with this turn of events, again invaded Leinster and took many hostages, including some from Diarmuid. In retaliation, Diarmuid invaded Meath, whose King was an ally of the King of Munster, and also took hostages. From there he moved on Dublin and defeating the Norse he made himself King of Dublin, and of Wales, as the Norse claimed Kingship of that province. His position as King of Leinster was now firmly established, and from this much strengthened position he invaded Munster and inflicted a severe defeat on the Munstermen at Sliabh Crot in Tipperary. The King of Munster now submitted to him and so Diarmuid became the King of the Southern Half of Ireland. In an attempt to become High King, Diarmuid with his new allies the Munstermen, invaded Connaught, but this foray was unsuccessful.

Diarmuid's son Murchadh was his father's tanaiste, or second in command, and he was established as Lord of the Norse of Dublin, but in 1070 this man died or was poisoned. Diarmuid did have another son Eanna Bacach, who survived until 1092, but he was excluded from the Kingship at this time, probably because of his disability. Diarmuid himself was now an ageing man, and his nephews, sons of his brother Donal, began to contest the Kingship of Leinster. However, with the help of an old ally, Turlough O'Brien, whom he had made King of Munster, Diarmuid managed to deter them. Shortly after this, in 1071 Diarmuid was killed in a battle with the men of Meath. Rather than allow Diarmuid's nephews to reassert themselves, Turlough now marched into Ui Cinnsealaigh burning the strong places as he went. He allowed Diarmuid's nephews to rule Ui Cinnsealaigh alone, and gave the Lordship of Dublin to Diarmuid's grandson Donal the son of Murchadh. However Diarmuid's nephew Donnchadh, not content with just Ui Cinnsealaigh began to grow troublesome. Turlough again marched on Ui Cinnsealaigh to 'place fetters on Donnchadh'. This was in 1077 but Donnchadh did not stay subdued for long, as we find at the time

of Turlough's death, in 1086, the Ui Cinnsealaigh were in revolt. Turlough's son marched on the Ui Cinnsealaigh and defeated them at a battle near Rath Eadair.

Donnchadh died in 1089 and the Kingship now reverted to Eanna Bachach mentioned above. He survived until 1092 and on his death the Kingship of Ui Cinnsealaigh was given to his son Diarmuid who in turn was succeeded by his brother Donnchadh. The succession continuted down through Diarmuid, a grandson of Murchadh who died in 1070 and after him to Eanna McMurrough another grandson of Murchadh. Eanna had ambitions to restore the fortunes of the Ui Cinnsealaigh and in 1123 he allied himself to the McCarthys of Desmond, Tighernan O'Rourke of Breffni, and the King of Meath and set out to invade Connaught, which was controlled by Turlough O'Connor and his son Rory. Turlough had assumed a very dominant position in Ireland and was now recognised as High King. Eanna and his allies were repulsed and Eanna withdrew to Ui Cinnsealaigh where he died at Ferns in 1126. O'Connor took the opportunity to invade Ui Cinnsealaigh and depose the McMurrough successor, the famous Diarmuid McMurrough or Diarmuid na nGall as he was called.

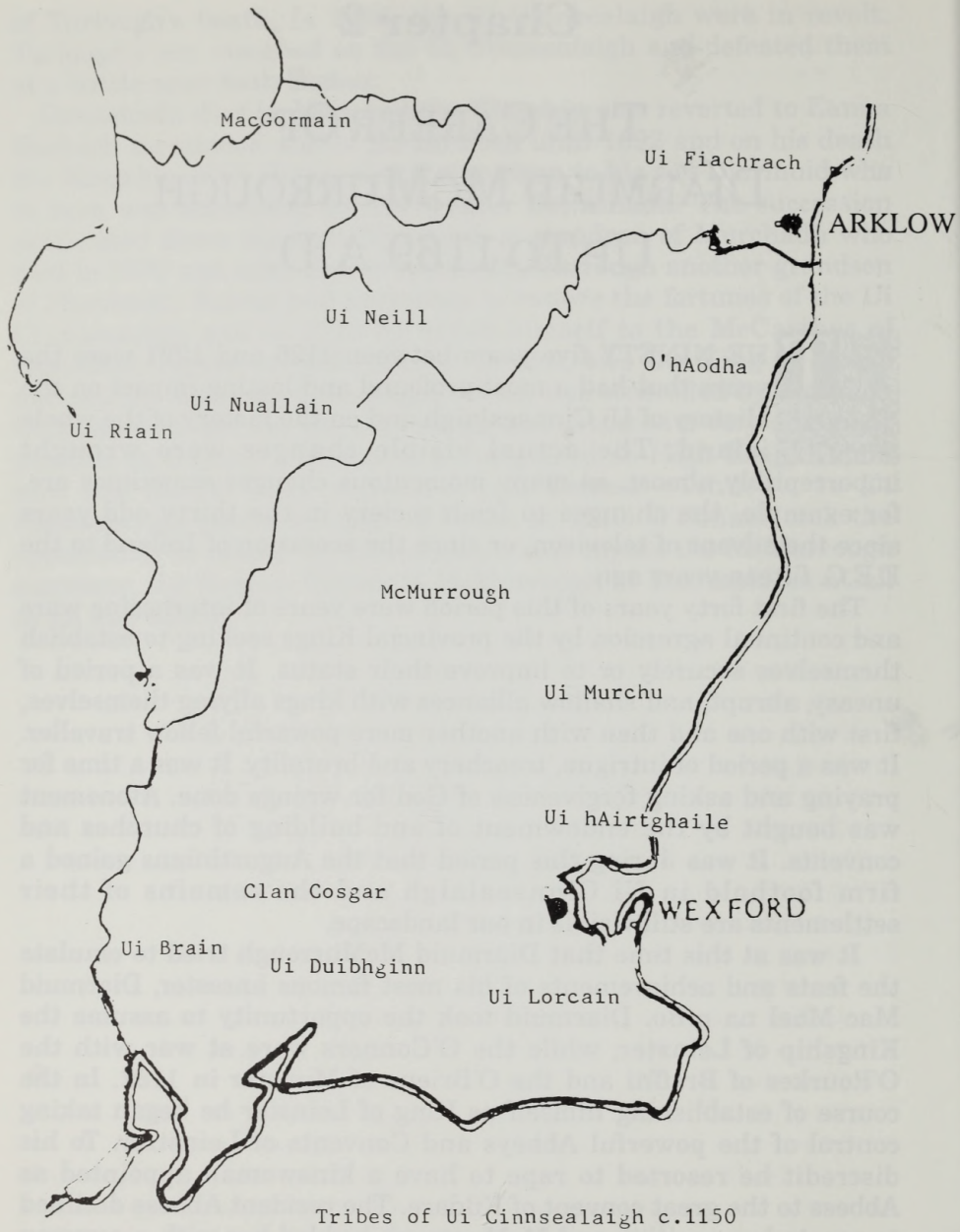
# Chapter 2

# The Career Of Diarmuid McMurrough Up To 1169 A.D.

HE NINETY five years between 1126 and 1221 were the years that had a most profound and lasting impact on the History of Ui Cinnsealaigh and on the history of the whole island. The actual visible changes were wrought imperceptibly almost, as many momentous changes sometimes are, for example, the changes to Irish society in the thirty odd years since the advent of televison, or since the accession of Ireland to the E.E.C. fifteen years ago.

The first forty years of this period were years of internecine wars and continual agression by the provincial Kings seeking to establish themselves securely or to improve their status. It was a period of uneasy, abrupt, and shallow alliances with kings allying themselves, first with one and then with another more powerful fellow traveller. It was a period of intrigue, treachery and brutality. It was a time for praying and asking forgiveness of God for wrongs done. Atonement was bought by the endowment of and building of churches and convents. It was during this period that the Augustinians gained a firm foothold in Ui Cinnsealaigh and the remains of their settlements are still visible in our landscape.

It was at this time that Diarmuid McMurrough tried to emulate the feats and achievements of his most famous ancestor, Diarmuid Mac Mael na mBo. Diarmuid took the opportunity to assume the Kingship of Leinster, while the O'Connors were at war with the O'Rourkes of Breffni and the O'Briens of Munster in 1132. In the course of establishing himself as King of Leinster he began taking control of the powerful Abbeys and Convents of Leinstrer. To his discredit he resorted to rape to have a kinswoman appointed as Abbess to the great convent of Kildare. The resident Abbess declined to vacate her position and McMurrough bedded her with a common soldier to make her unfit to hold the high office. Shortly afterwards he invaded Ossary and attacked Waterford and extended his




Map of Ui Cinnsealaigh showing the tribal structure c. 1150

authority over most of the area but with great bloodshed and loss of property.

His next foray was in 1138 when he went to the aid of the Meath King, who had been attacked by the High King, O'Connor, and O'Rourke of Breffni now O'Connors ally. The western allies decided to withdraw in the face of this development and McMurrough went back to Ui Cinnsealaigh where he faced trouble from the Ossary and Waterford men. Again in 1140 the Meathmen were attacked by the High King, but McMurrough was unable or more likely unwilling to go to their assistance, and we find in the next year that McMurrough, pursuing an independent line, massacred the Royal family of Meath, the Maelseachlainns and their most prominent supporters. The Meathmen now turned to the High King and O'Rourke for help and in 1142 they marched on Ui Cinnsealaigh and took hostages from McMurrough for his future good behaviour but as part of the settlement Meath was partitioned and the eastern half was divided between McMurrough and O'Rourke.

In a bewildering development the following year, O'Connor and O'Brien of Munster made peace and decided to restore Meath to the Maelseachlainns. McMurrough and O'Rourke immediately went to defend their newly acquired territories, but the skirmishing was ineffectual and the outcome indecisive. In the folloing five years, McMurrough consolidated his position and succeeded in forging an alliance with the High King and with the McCarthys of Desmond and in 1149 the combined forces of the three allies invaded Munster and invlicted a very severe defeat on the O'Briens almost annihilating their forces. Another new star appeared in the firmament of warring provincial Kings at this jucture, in the form of McLoughlin, King of Cineal Eoghan (the McLoughlins were a senior branch of the O'Neills), who invaded Meath, the following year, received submissions and promptly divided it between O'Ruairc, O'Cearbhaill and O'Connor (Offaly). Neither the High King nor McMurrough appear to have been in a position to resist this arrangement. Ignoring McLochlin, the High King, allied to O'Rourke, and McMurrough, again attacked the O'Briens in 1151. It is noteworthy that at this period, McMurrough and O'Rourke were allies, and it is not improbable that the relationship between McMurrough and O'Rourkes wife commenced at this time. In the ensuing war in Munster, O'Brien was defeated in one of the bloodiest battles of the 12th century, near Fermoy.

McMurrough appeared to have reached the zenith of his career at this point and we find his 'religious' zeal matched his political and

military prowess, as he repaired abbeys and endowed others, in particular Ferns which was given a charter. The charter was drawn up by one Florentius and read like charters of many European and English churches. He founded an Augustinian abbey for nuns at Aghade, which was to be a cell to the nunnery of St. Mary de Hoggis in the city of Dublin. He was responsible for repairing and renovating the monastery at Aghowle. Ferns was burned three years later and was again completely rebuilt and restored.

However, McMurroughs moral zeal didn't appear to match his politico/religious achievements for we find that in the next year 1152, allied with O'Connor and McLoughlin, he invaded Breffni and burned O'Rourkes fortress and to add insult to injury, McMurrough 'stole' Dervorgilla, O'Rourkes wife. According to Ryan, the lady was not unwilling to go with her abductor and had in fact indicated to him in a private message that 'he should avail himself of the convenient absense of her husband to secure possession of her person'. McMurrough duly obliged and took her back to Ferns with her 'dowry' - a considerable herd of O'Rourke's cattle.

A contemporary account of McMurrough stated that he was a big man, hoarse from shouting in battle, brave and proud, who exhibited true benevolence in raising and protecting the poor and defenceless. He was largely responsible for the compilation of the Book of Leinster and appears to have been a patron of monastic art. Morally he was no better or no worse than any of his contemporaries, who fathered numerous illegitimate children and kept concubines. The great Rory O'Connor the High King was reputed to have had eleven illegitimate children and three wives!

Many of the spurned wives of Irish chieftains joined nunneries and in Ui Cinnsealaigh some went to a settlement near Carne in south Wexford, which became known as Oilean na mBan. In translation in later medieval times this became known as Ladies Island. No one is sure how or when it became 'Our Lady's Island' with the obvious connotations, nor is anyone sure when the custom of holding the annual pilgrimage began.

McMurrough and Dervorgilla sojourned at Ferns until the following year when Turlough O'Connor prevailed on Diarmuid to relinquish the lady and he persuaded her to return to O'Rourke. Needless to say the 'dowry' was not returned.

Of more general interest, it might be noted that in this year, 1152 a general synod of the Church in Ireland was held at Kells, Co. Meath, and was atended by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Paparo. In the course of deliberations it was decided to establish four

archbishoprics - Armagh, Dublin, Cashel and Tuam.

In the fast and furious changing of alliances, McLoughlin now sided with O'Brien of Munster and they set up the Kingdom of Meath, with a Maelseachlainn as King, as a bulwark against McMurrough and O'Connor. This seems to have gone unchallenged for the next succeeding two years but in 1156. Turlough O'Connor tried to build up an alliance between McMurrough, O'Rourke and O'Brien to stave off the challenge from McLoughlin, but he died in the same year and his plans died with him. McMurrough decided to throw in his lot with McLoughlin and gave him hostages. The two western Kings, Rory O'Connor and O'Rourke now teamed up once again to oppose the McMurrough-McLochlin faction and their alliance lasted nearly a decade.

In the early part of the new decade (1161) McMurrough grew restive and attacked the Norse of Wexford. The Irish led by Donal Kavanagh, his illegitimate son, called Caomhanach (pronounced Kavanuck and later Kavanagh by the English) inflicted a most severe defeat on them. McMurrough encouraged by this victory allied himself with McLochlin in the following year and marched on Dublin, which they reduced by force and the Ostmen recognised McMurrough as their sovereign. Diarmuid now had his brother-in-law, Lawrence O'Toole appointed as Archbishop of Dublin. This is the first reference to the intermarriage between the three powerful dynasties, the O'Tooles, Byrnes and McMurroughs which was to continue right through the middle ages, though at this time the great family of the O'Byrne's were still Lords in Co. Laois.

During the next four years Rory O'Connor and O'Rourke began consolidating their hold on the west and pushed back McLochlin to the north and gradually isolated a now ageing McMurrough. In 1166 Rory O'Connor was acknowledged as the High King of Ireland, except by McMurrough and he now swept down on Ui Cinnsealaigh, eagerly supported by a revengeful O'Rourke, who had neither forgiven nor forgotten the insults of the previous decade. It is not known where the two armies met, but there is some reason to believe it may have been near Tullow. The Ui Cinnsealaigh were defeated with great loss of life, but on this occasion the invading force does not appear to have gone any further. However, later in the year, the remnants of the Maelseachlainn clan, aided by O'Rourke and the Norsemen of Dublin, swept through Ui Cinnsealaigh and burned McMurrough's stone castle at Ferns. McMurrough who appears to have escaped capture, was deposed and the Kingdom of Ui Cinnsealaigh was divided between Diarmuid's brother Murchadh

(called Murrough na nGael) and the King of Osraighe, McGilpatrick.

Diarmuid laid low in the fastnesses of the Blackstairs, until the Winter of 1167 making plans with his chief advisers and sending agents to Wales to acquaint him with the availability of armed mercenaries. In the course of these fact finding missions it was established that no Norman could move without the express permission of Henry II their liege Lord. McMurrough resolved to travel to the court of Henry II to get his permission to engage some of his Norman knights and men at arms as mercenaries. Accordingly he left the coast of Ui Cinnsealaigh, probably from Glascarrig near Courtown, in the late spring of 1167 and set sail for Wales. He was accompanied on the trip by sixty followers comprising, advisers, clergy and soldiers. He left Donal Kavanagh his son, now a man of about forty years of age, as his Tanaiste. In McMurrough's absence Donal set about rallying the clan with a view to having a force in readiness for his father's return.

McMurrough was received and entertained by Robert FitzHarding at St. Austin's Abbey, the Augustinian Abbey in Bristol. It should be noted that FitzHarding was a close friend of Henry II for over a quarter of a century. After a short stay he set out for Acquitain, where Henry was holding court. McMurrough appeared before Henry and according to one historian 'he fell on his knees before the King and made eloquent representations of what misfortunes had befallen him.' The King agreed to allow McMurrough to seek help from the Norman Welsh Lords and presented him with the following letter:

"Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Acquitain, Earl of Anjou etc., unto all his subjects, English, Norman, Welsh and Scots and all nations and peoples being his subjects, greetings.

Whereas, Dermot, Prince of Leinster, most wrongfully (as he informeth) banished out of his own country, hath craved our aid: therefore for as much as we have received him into our protection, grace and favour, whosoever within our realm, subject to our commands, shall aid and help him in the recovery of his lands, let him be assured of our favour and licence in that behalf."

Armed with this letter McMurrough went back to Bristol and published it repeatedly and made liberal offers of payment to all who would come to his aid. According to the historian Dolley, McMurrough was quite familiar with the Normans in Wales through the Augustinians and probably had contact with them prior to this adventure. Interestingly enough there appears to have been some contact with the Welsh down through the years and we find that the

Norman motte in Kilrush parish in north Wexford was in the possession of Robert de Waleis (the Welshman) in the latter years of the 12th century and one could speculate that this grant was in fact made to Robert FitzHarding by McMurrough in gratitude for all his help. In this connection it might be noted that the townland of Kilbranish near Bunclody, means literally 'the Welshman's church'.

The person most interested in giving assistance to McMurrough was Richard de Clare, Earl of Chepstow, known as Strongbow, because of his prodigious ability with the cross-bow. It was said he was able to draw a bow of more than ordinary resistance and his arms were so long that, in an upright position, the palms of his hands reached to his knees!

Strongbow agreed to go to Ireland in the Spring of 1169 thus giving himself a full year to make the necessary preparations. However he stipulated that he would only go with the personal permission of his Lord Henry. McMurrough for his part offered to give Strongbow his daughter Aoife in marriage and the Kingdom of Leinster after his death. Richard may well have been aware that under Irish law his claim to the Kingdom of Leinster would be tenuous to say the least, but since his financial position in Wales was untenable he resolved to take his chances in Ireland.

From Bristol, and probably on the advice of Strongbow, McMurrough went to St. David's and there persuaded the prince of that district, through the good offices of the Bishop of St. David's, to release a Norman prisoner, Robert FitzStephen, who was induced together with Maurice FitzGerald, another Norman knight, to go to Ireland as part of the Norman advance force. They were promised a grant in fee of Wexford town and two cantreds (a cantred was a district containing approximately one hundred townlands) adjoining the town. Of course McMurrough in his wisdom, was not giving away anything he readily controlled since the town of Wexford had been in Viking hands for centuries and they were also most influential in the districts adjoining it.

FitzStephen and FitzGerald were half brothers and sons the Welsh lady of noble birth, Nesta, who had as her parmours a succession of Norman noblemen, including Henry II himself. The famous Norman family of FitzHenry is descended from his natural son, Meiler FitzHenry who was one of the first of the Normans to land in Ireland. Another of her 'brood' was Giraldus Cambrensis the noted historian of the Norman invasion.

Having completed his arrangements, McMurrough left Wales in August of 1168 and landed at Glascarrig. From there he proceeded

to Ferns where he wintered and waited for his allies to come.

Some writers, particularly Ryan, drawing on Cambrensis, made the allegations that McMurrough was a cruel and despotic tyrant, hated even by his own subjects. The fact that he was able to spend three parts of a year in Ferns waiting for the Normans to come, indicates that the loyalty of the people to their monarch was complete and enduring. At some time in the winter or early spring of 1169 O'Connors allies marched towards Ui Cinnsealaigh and were met by McMurrough and his forces. Some kind of skirmish ensued, and the Ui Cinnsealaigh men withdrew. They were not pursued, but O'Connor sent envoys to McMurrough with an ultimatum to accept his conditions for peace. These conditions included McMurrough recognising O'Connor as High King, having his own area of influence reduced to ten cantreds, renouncing his claim to the Kingship of Leinster and paying O'Rourke the enormous sum of one hundred ounces of gold as compensation for the insult offered a decade and a half earlier. McMurrough, buying time, agreed to these conditions.

The stage was now set for what McMurrough saw as his triumphant return to a central role in the interprovincial struggle for power. The fact that he had offered the Kingdom of Leinster to Strongbow, after his death, hardly mattered to McMurrough, nor his granting of lands adjoining Wexford and the town itself to FitzGerald and FitzStephen. Those peripheral areas were almost ungovernable in any event because of the Viking presence. What he did not foresee was the tenacity of the Normans and the cunning of Henry II. With the Papal Bull 'Laudabiliter' in his possession (granting him Papal permission to conquer Ireland in order to regulate religious matters) and with his knights in Ireland in large numbers, the wily Henry knew his claim to be the sovereign of Ireland had a better than fifty fifty chance of becoming a reality.

# Chapter 3

# THE COMING OF THE NORMANS

HE FIRST force of Normans arrived in southern Ui Cinnsealaigh, at Bannow Bay, in May 1169. They comprised some thirty knights, sixty esquires (student knights) and three hundred archers, under the leadership of Robert FitzStephen, Meiler FitzHenry, Meiler FitzDavid, Maurice de Prendergast and Hervey de Montmorency, Strongbow's uncle.

Their arrival was communicated to McMurrough and he immediately raised the standard and to quote Ryan 'his subjects who had formerly rejected him, flocked to him now in large numbers'.

The Normans spent the first nights on the seashore and having been joined by Donal Kavanagh and five hundred of the men of Ui Cinnsealaigh, and later by Diarmuid the McMurrough himself, they determined to attack Wexford town.

Two thousand of the townsmen came out to meet them, but were intimidated by the novel appearance of the Normans and retreated into the town, burning the suburbs as they wernt. FitzStephen made a sortie against the walls of the town and was repulsed with the loss of eighteen men. The Normans were so incensed by this, that they resolved to take the town or perish in the attempt. To strengthen their resolve they burned the transport ships anchored at Bannow. However the local clergy intervened and the town surrendered on agreed terms.

McMurrough, immediately fulfilled his promise to the Normans and granted the two cantreds adjoining Wexford to FitzStephen, and to FitzGerald, who though instrumental in assembling the invading force, was not among the initial landing group. As a mark of gratitude to Strongbow, McMurrough granted a further two cantreds between Wexford and Waterford to Montmorency, Strongbow's uncle who appears to have been there as his nephew's representative.

Diarmuid now brought his new allies to Ferns, where the next three weeks were spent in festivities. He then turned his attention to the kingdom of Osraighe, remembering the part the men of Osraighe had played in recent raids on his beloved Ui Cinnsealaigh. He was particularly aggrieved by the blinding of hostages, including

his son Eanna, by Donal McGilPatrick, the King of Ossary the previous year. In the ensuing battle two hundred of the men of Osraighe were killed and their heads displayed before McMurrough.

The combined forces of the Ui Cinnsealaigh and the Normans, having first subdued O'Phelan, Lord of the Decies (Co Waterford including part of South Kilkenny), marched north where they pacified the O'Tooles and made formal agreements with them, whereby they recognised McMurrough as King of Leinster. They then moved back toUi Cinnsealaigh again via Glendalough.

The McGilPatricks, seething for revenge, were causing much trouble in the border region near Ross, and despite the unwillingness of the Normans to go on the offensive, McMurrough attacked them and having defeated them, took a huge booty including cattle and hostages.

Rory O'Connor, the High King, having been appraised of developments in the SouthEast, raised a very large army and headed towards Ui Cinnsealaigh.

When the Normans, now led by Maurice de Prendergast, heard of the impending confrontation they decided to return to Wales, but McMurrough ordered the destruction of the Wexford shipping to prevent their departure from that port.

Having assembled the men of Ui Cinnsealaigh, aided by the Phelans, O'Tooles and some of the Osraighe, McMurrough according to Ryan addressed his men as follows:

'Ye men of Leinster, the ties of kindred and the justice of our cause have hitherto united us. Let us now not fail in our resolution. Let us manfully make our defence. Roderick (Rory), that grasping and wicked man, desirous of universal sovereignty and dominion, now attempts to drive us from our country or effect our destruction. Surrounded by the multitude of his followers he is inflated with arrogance and contemplates our speedy downfall. But often has it happened, that a small but valient band of men have prevailed over superior numbers. If Roderick makes claim to the crown of Leinster, because some former king may have been tributary to a sovereign of Connaught, then by the same rule, may we assert a right to the province of Connaught, as our ancestors have been the sole governors and monarchs, not only of that district, but also of the entire kingdom (referring to Diarmuid Mac Mael na mBo). But in short he seeks, not to rule as a monarch, but to usurp and destroy as a tyrant, to expel us from our country, to possess himself of the inheritance of every individual, and render himself master over all. Many boast of their great multitude, and place their confidence

therein. But let them rest well assured that we Leinster men, though few in number, were never yet, nor are we now, afraid to encounter with the best and proudest. Because victory is not obtained through numbers but virtue and resolution, strength and courage. We have on our side, humility against pride, against wrongs we have equity, against arrogance modesty, and to intemperance we oppose temperance and moderation. These virtues will combat for us on the day of trial. The laws of all nations permit us to oppose force by force, and injury by strength: and that cause is just, which consists in a defence of our country and protection of our patrimony. Let us be of good courage inasmuch as we but defend our rights while they contend for gain.'

Despite the posturing and speech by McMurrough, no engagement took place, but negotiations ensued and the following terms were agreed.

**(1)** McMurrough was to renew his homage to the High King and he in turn would be recognises as King of Leinster.

**(2)** McMurrough was to dismiss his Norman allies as soon as possible.

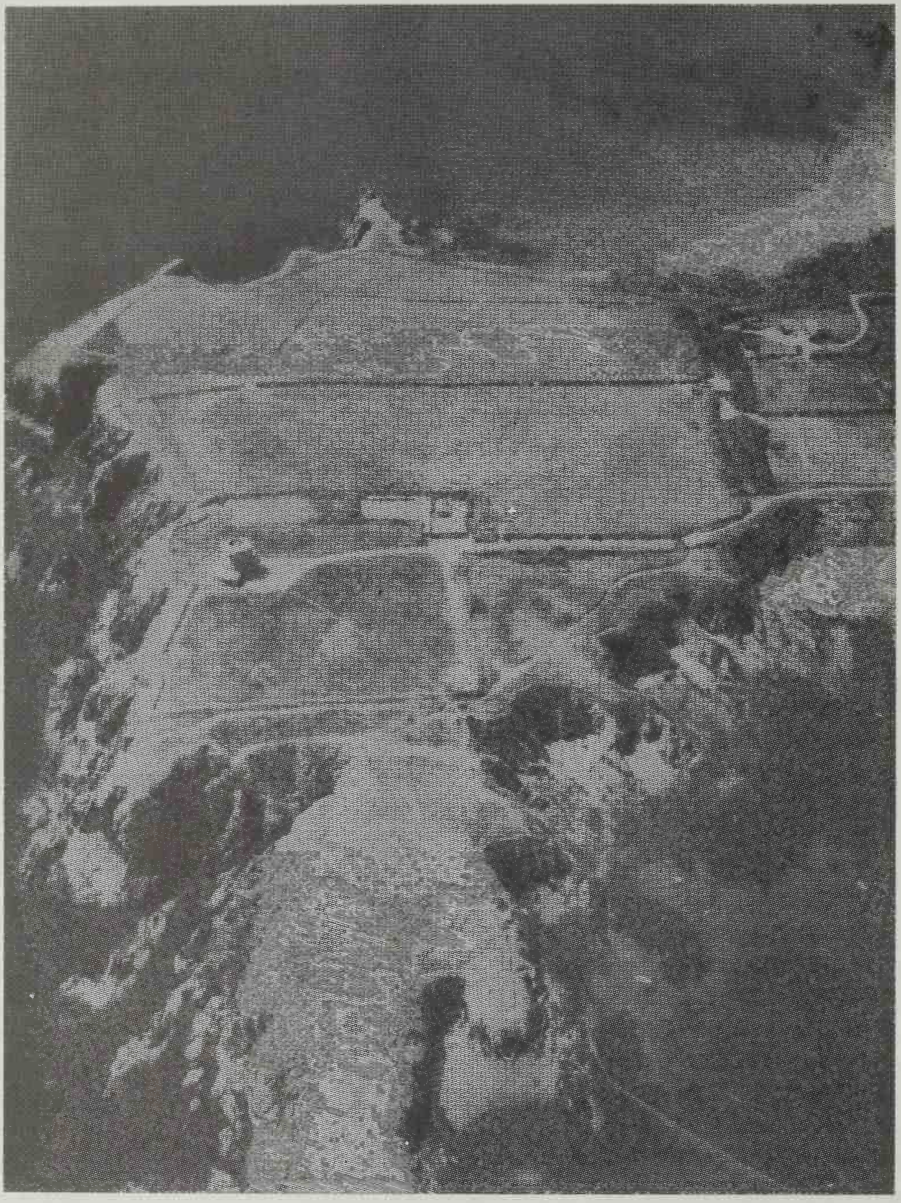
**(3)** McMurrough's son Art and one of Donal Kavanagh's sons, were to be given as hostages.

The hostages were given and the country at peace when Maurice FitzGerald landed at Wexford with ten knights, thirty esquires and one hundred archers.

McMurrough now turned his attention to Dublin, and with his combined force of Leinstermen and Normans forced the subjugation of the city and was given hostages for the future good behaviour of the Norsemen.

He next set about solving the problems being encountered by his son in law Donal O'Brien, King of Thomond. Donal was being pressed for the payment of a tribute by the High King and being either unable or unwilling to pay he appealed to McMurrough for help. The latter sent FitzStephen and his Norman force to Limerick and in the ensuing battle, the forces of the High King were defeated.

McMurrough, encouraged by these successes now planned to try for the supreme title of High King. He requested the help of FitzStephen and FitzGerald, but both men declined and referred him to Strongbow who was still in Wales, having been delayed there by the wily Henry II. Following correspondence, in the course of which McMurrough urged Strongbow to come as the High Kingship was there for the taking, Strongbow obtained the necessary letter of permission and began his final preparations.



Baginbun

In May 1170, Raymond le Gros, leading Strongbow's advance force, landed at Baginbun, a small peninsula in South Wexford, adjacent to Waterford harbour. He was accompanied by ten knights and one hundred archers.

Alarm bells began ringing in the areas near to Baginbun - Waterford, Idrone and the Decies, with the coming of this new invasionary force. The Waterford Vikings, now allied to their former enemies the Ryans of Idrone and the O'Phelans of the Decies, determined to expel these Normans and assembled a large combined force. The Normans, being appraised of these hostile intentions threw up earthworks across the neck of the peninsula, raided the surrounding countryside and took in a large booty of cattle.

The attacking force halted at the rampart and the desperate Normans drove the herd of cattle into their midst. They immediately followed up this surprise move and inflicted heavy casualties on the attackers, who withdrew. The Normans captured seventy of the townsmen.

With calculated and coldblooded design, the Normans decided to despatch their prisoners in such a way as to spread the utmost terror among the native population. They broke their arms and legs and threw them into the sea, knowing the currents and tides would wash the bodies up in Waterford harbour.

The newly arrived force soon joined up with their countrymen at Wexford and they then awaited the arrival of Strongbow.

In September the long awaited main force of Normans arrived under the command of Strongbow, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke and heir apparent to McMurrough. He brought with him two hundred knights and one thousand soldiers. He was immediately joined by the Normans who were already in the country and by McMurrough and the Ui Cinnsealaigh.

It was decided to capture the city of Waterford and the combined force moved to attack it the day following the landing. Having repulsed the Norman attackers twice the townsmen were eventually beaten back and the city fell. Everyone in the city was slaughtered with the exception of O'Phelan who was spared by the intercession of McMurrough. On the day following Aoife and Strongbow were married.

'Brief however was the time devoted by Strongbow to the softer offices of love' , as Ryan so quaintly put it for on the next day the combined forces marched on Dublin. It appears that the Vikings of Dublin, like the Vikings of Waterford feared for their lives and property, in view of the acquisition of Wexford by the Normans. They

were probably made painfully aware of the sacking of Waterford before the combined forces reached the walls. Despite having given hostages to McMurrough the year before the Vikings of Dublin determined to defend the city. Lawrence O'Toole offered to mediate but the Normans, who now appeared to have an agenda of their own dictated that terms were to be agreed by the 21st of September. As no agreement was reached by that date the Normans gained entry to the city and slaughtered great numbers of the inhabitants. Hastolphus, the governor of the city and many of the wealthier citizens escaped by sea.

Milo de Cogan with a small force of Normans was left in charge of the city, while Strongbow and McMurrough turned their attention to O'Rourkes territories in Meath. They swept through the midlands plundering and taking booty in their passage.

O'Connor, now thoroughly alarmed, sent word to McMurrough, that, unless he withdrew to Leinster and abided by the terms of the peace agreement of the previous year, he would put the hostages to death. These included his son Art and his grandson. McMurrough, now on the crest of the wave, and thinking that O'Connor would never dare to carry out his threat, threatened to march on Connaught and carry out dreadful reprisals if the hostages were harmed. The High King, angered by this respose, had the hostages executed and their bodies sent to McMurrough.

McMurrough was absolutely devastated by this turn of events and returned immediately to Ferns to inter his family and to spend time in mourning. Despite the entreaties of the Normans he refused to go on the offensive. He died in the spring of 1171 and was buried in the Abbey of Ferns. He was sixty five years of age at the time of his death.

Strongbow spent much of the summer trying to work out some way to advance his claim as King of Leinster and to appease the Irish chieftains and muster their support. His efforts proved almost fruitless outside of Ui Cinnsealaigh and in the district itself he received support only from Donal Kavanagh, to whom he had promised the Kingship of Low Leinster, meaning most of Wexford and Carlow, Murtagh the nephew of Diarmuid, whom Strongbow had confirmed as Lord of the Kinsellaghs (an area of North Wexford centering on the Gorey / Ferns axis). Mac Gely of the O'Byrnes and one Auliffe O'Carvey from the Laois Offaly area also supported him.

In August of 1171, it was decided to secure Dublin, as Strongbow had intelligence that O'Connor had designs to attack the small Norman force there. They arrived in Dublin with difficulty, having

been attacked on the way by dissident Irish clans including the O'Rourkes who had been despoiled in Meath the previous year. O'Connor, with a huge army arrived on their heels and besieged the city. Bad news arrived for Strongbow from Wexford, where FitzStephen had been besieged in his fortification at Ferrycarrig by the Norse of Wexford and Forth. This intelligence was brought to Strongbow by Donal Kavanagh who gained entry to the city by stealth.

It was decided to go to the relief of FitzStephen and in the early morning the Norman / Irish force issued out from the city, surprising O'Connor's army, who were easily defeated. O'Connor barely escaped wit his life.

The Normans pushed southeast and in the territory of the O'Ryans, who controlled the area known as Forth in Carlow as well as Idrone, Strongbow's forces were ambushed and would almost certainly have been routed but for the action of a monk called Nicholas. He singled out the leader of the Ryan clan and killed him with a bowshot. The Irish as was customary retreated when they saw their leader killed.

Strongbow was reputed to have executed his own seventeen year old son (by a previous marriage) for cowardice, at the scene of the battle.

The combined victorious forces went immediately to Ferns, where Strongbow received an urgent message from Wexford, demanding him to go there forthwith, or FitzStephen, now a prisoner would be executed. He received another message from Henry II, instructing him to return to Wales without delay. Having sent a message to Wexford, he set out for Waterford and embarked for Wales.

It appears Henry was becoming increasingly uneasy about the ambitions of Strongbow and it was with the utmost difficulty that he was persuaded by Strongbow and Hervy de Montmorency his uncle, of the former's unwavering loyalty. As a mark of his good intentions he ceded the city of Dublin to Henry along with the other seaports of the southeast. Henry permitted him to keep the rest of Leinster upon taking an oath of alliegence.

Strongbow was given permission to return to Ireland in the early months of 1172, and Henry himself came over later in the year, accompanied by five hundred knights and four thousand men at arms. He received the submission of Strongbow and some Irish chiefs, including O'Phelan and Mac Giolla Padraig.

Henry and his army proceeded to Cashel and there convened a synod of the clergy of Ireland and presented the Papal Bull

'Laudabiliter' which had been given to him by Adrian V, in 1156, and was acknowledged as Monarch of Ireland.

The Papal document reads as follows:

Bull of Pope Adrian IV

'Adrian the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the noble king of England, sendeth greetings and apostolic benediction: Your magnificence hath been very careful and studious how you might enlarge the church of God here on earth, and increase the number of his saints and elect in heaven; in that, as a good catholic king, you have and do, by all means, labour and travail to enlarge and increase God's church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting up the weeds of sin and wickedness. And wherein you have, and do crave, for your better furtherance, the help of the apostolic see, wherein more speedily and discreetly, you proceed, the better success we hope God will send, for all they which of a fervent Zeal and love in religion do begin and enterprise any such thing, shall, no doubt, in the end, have a good and prosperous success.

And as for Ireland, and all other islands where Christ is known, and the christian religion received, it is out of all doubt, and your excellency well knoweth, they do all appertain and belong to the right of St. Peter, and of the church of Rome, and we are so much more the ready, desirous and willing to sow the acceptable seed of God's work, because we know the same in the latter day will be most severely required at our hands.

You have (our well beloved son in Christ) advertised and signified unto us, that you will enter into the land and realm of Ireland, to the end to bring them to obedience unto the law, and under your subjection, and to root out from among them their foul sins and wickedness; as also to yield and pay yearly out of every house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and besides, also will defend and keep the rites of these churches whole and inviolate.

We therefore, while allowing and favouring this, your godly disposition, and commendable affection, do accept, ratify, and assent unto this your petition; and do grant, that you (for the dilating of God's church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of manners, planting of virtue, and the increasing of Christian religion) do enter to possess that land, and there to execute according to your wisdom, whatsoever shall be for the honour of God, and the safety of the realm.

And further, also, we do strictly charge and require, that all the people of that land, do with all humbleness, dutifulness and honour,

receive and accept you as their liege Lord and sovereign, reserving and accepting the right of holy church to be inviolably preserved; as also the yearly pension of Peter-pence, out of every house; which we require to be truly answered to St. Peter and the church of Rome.

If therefore you do mind to bring your godly purpose to effect, endeavour to travail to reform the people to some better order and trade of life, and also by yourself, and by such others as you shall think meet, true, and honest in their life, manners and conversation, to the end the church of God many be beautified, the true Christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things done, that by any means shall or may be to God's honour, and salvation of men's souls, whereby you may in the end, receive of God's hands the reward of everlasting life: and also, in the mean time, and in this life, carry a glorious fame, and an honourable report among all nations.'

Having completed his work of validating his claim to Ireland, Henry then set out for Dublin, receiving submissions on the way from the various Irish chiefs through whose territories he passed, including a submission from Rory O'Connor the High King. He spent Christmas in Dublin and had to have a special building erected as there was no building in the town suitable for his needs or for the occasion. Ryan states that Henry introduced English laws and statutes into Ireland at this time but some areas under Irish jurisdiction, notably the country of the McMurroughs were made exempt from such laws.

Henry stayed in Dublin until Easter of 1173, and then returned to Wales passing through Wexford, whose inhabitants handed over FitzStephen. Prior to his departure he appointed Hugh de Lacy as his Viceroy. As de Lacy was unable to take up the appointment at this time, Strongbow was deputed to act in his place.

Strongbow immediately made Raymond le Gros the head of the army, as he had distinguished himself in the earlier campaigns. Raymond somewhat chagrined by not being offered more, returned to Wales shortly afterwards and Hervy de Montmorency was chosen to command in his absence. The Irish seeing a weakness, due to Montmorency's age and lack of ability began to rebel and in 1175, Montmorency was defeated by the Irish of Ossary and Strongbow was besieged in Waterford.

Donal Kavanagh seized this opportunity to disassociate himself from the Normans and declared himself King of Leinster. It is probable that he was greatly encouraged by the lesser chiefs of the clan and by the learned men, to whom it was now clear, that the Normans had no intention of leaving Ireland.

Strongbow, in order to strengthen his precarious state, wrote to Raymond le Gros, offering him the hand of his sister Basilia in marriage, the lands of Idrone, (which he had previously bestowed on Donal Kavanagh) Glascarrig, and Fethard and the constableship of Leinster. Raymond immediately accepted and landed at Waterford with a sizeable force and with Strongbow he marched to Wexford, in a show of strength, where the marriage ceremony between Raymond and Basilia was performed and necessary documents were signed to seal the contract made between the two men in relation to the land grants.

Donal Kavanagh lost no time in approaching the High King, to seek his support in opposing the Normans. Rory responded to this invitation and marched on Leinster. The Normans being aware of the movements of Donal and the High King, marched against them and they met near Dublin, where a battle was fought. The combined forces of the High King and Donal Kavanagh were routed and among the slain was Donal himself. It is said he was killed by a countryman of his own who was in the pay of the Normans.

Donal O'Brien of Limerick, Diarmuid McMurrough's son in law, now threw down the gauntlet and the Normans moved into the offensive. Raymond le Gros, went to Limerick and took the city, leaving a garrison there. He then returned to Leinster but when he reached Waterford he got intelligence that the garrison was about to be overwhelmed, by Donal O'Brien and his forces. He immediately hurried back and O'Brien yielded and gave hostages.

Strongbow and Maurice FitzGerald died in the following year 1176, and Henry II appointed William FitzAdelm as 'procurator'. He, in order to strengthen the Norman control of Ui Cinnsealaigh, offered to give Ferns to the nephews of Maurice FitzGerald, in exchange for the castle of Wicklow which they inherited from their uncle. They agreed and erected a castle in Ferns to protect themselves from the enemies surrounding them, but Walter Almenus a nephew of FitzAdelm, who was governor of Wexford, was bribed by Murtagh McMurrough to bring about its destruction and he duly obliged.

Strongbow's daughter, Isabella, by his wife, Aoife McMurrough, was made a ward of King Henry II and lived at court until her marriage to William the Earl Marshall in 1189. William later became the most powerful man in the court of King John and was afterwards the guardian of the young King Henry III.

Because of his unsuitability for the post of 'procurator' of Ireland, FitzAdelm was recalled and Hugh de Lacy was finally permitted to

take control of the Norman interests in Ireland.

According to Ryan, the castles of Carlow, Leighlinbridge, and Tullow were built by de Lacy so as the more easily to garrison the country of the Idrones. Hanmer, another noted historian says that de Lacy also built a castle in Forth O'Nolan and this must be the original building that was at Rathnageeragh, subsequently taken over by the Kavanaghs. However this information appears to be wrong, as it is noted in a Charter of Raymond le Gros, that he handed over control of his castle in Forth O'Nolan to his nephew, William de Cantiton. He also gave control of Idrone to another nephew William Carew, and his Glascarrig property including the abbey lands to Raymond de Cantiton.

Lawrence O'Toole, who was afterwards canonised and is one of the few true Irish saints, went to the Latern Council in Rome in 1179, and presented an account of the Norman Invasion which greatly displeased King Henry II. On his way home from Rome, Lawrence who was detained under house arrest in Aungiers in France, by the orders of the King, took ill and died.

Most of the other major actors in the drama of the Invasion were dead by the end of the century. Rory O'Connor the High King, abdicated in 1186 and went into seclusion in a monastery where he died in 1198. Henry II died in 1189 and was succeeded by his son Richard the Lionheart of Crusade fame.

As already mentioned Isabella the daughter of Strongbow and Aoife, married William, Lord Maxfield, Earl Marshall of England in 1189. William was a close friend and confidante of King John who ruled in his brother Richard's absence. Marshall was appointed as governor of Ireland because of the title he inherited through his wife - King of Leinster. He was recalled to England in 1197 and replaced by Hanno de Valois. William Marshall was in great favour with the King and was sent as ambassador to the French court until 1207. He was then reappointed as governor of Ireland. He came to Ireland the following year and commenced building a castle at Kilkenny. He was also confirmed in his title of Lord of Leinster by a charter of King John.

The Norman conquest of Ireland was now in full swing, with individual lords such as De Courcey and de Burgo and de Lacey vying with each other to secure advantage. They campaigned into Munster, Connaught and Ulster making and breaking alliances with the Gaelic kings and ravaging the country in their pursuit of land and wealth. King John, alarmed by their rapacity and independent ways came over to Ireland in 1210 to curb their power. He was

supported by his faithful friend William the Marshall. In a triumphant sweep of the country, John forced submissions from Gael and Gall alike and burned many of the castles of de Courcey in the north of the country. In his wake he left many chastened Normans and when he returned to England he took with him many hostages from the native and Norman lords. The sheer force and power of the never ending stream of Norman and English military men pouring into Ireland through Waterford must have terrified and cowed the inhabitants of the south east, and the Kavanaghs and their adherents must have been secretly grateful for the close marriage alliance with William.

On the death of King John, the power of goverment in Ireland and England, passed to William Marshall, because of the infancy of Henry III. He is said to have been responsible for building the first brdge across the Barrow at New Ross.

During the period of his first governorship of Ireland most of Wexford and Carlow (Ui Cinnsealaigh) was carved up and sub infeudated, with the exception of a considerable portion of North Wexford, which was held to be the area made exempt from English law by Henry II. This was effectively the area controlled by the McMurrough clan and peopled by the various sub tribes such as the Kinsellas, Keoghs, Dorans, Kavanaghs. Murphys, Nolans, Hanricks and others. It is most likely that William in deference to his wife's blood relations continued that exemption. The fact that the town and port of Ross, developed by Marshall, was left unwalled for about sixty years and was free from attack at that time, is proof enough of the special relationship that existed between the Kavanaghs and the Marshalls.

The major beneficeries of the conquest in this area were the Marshalls, Prendergasts, Roches, Raymonds (le Gros), Carews, FitzStephens, FitzHenrys, and their sub tenants who were granted various lots of land in the huge tracts nominally occupied by the Liege Lords. The sub tenants who were all military men were expected to be able to defend the territories they were given and their sons after them in like manner.

The Ui Cinnsealaigh lived in uneasy peace with the rest of their Norman neighbours, and following the early sporadic attempts to dislodge the invaders, the Ui Cinnsealaigh gave the Normans of the southern half of Wexford a wide berth and a grudging acceptance, and were content to accept an annual payment from the Marshall descendants for the fifty years following his death.

William Marshall died in 1219 and was succeeded as justiciar by

his son William in 1224. William the younger succeeded to all his father's titles and properties. In Ireland he had the tricky job of sorting out the rebel de Lacy who was rampaging in Ulster and forming alliances with the Irish. After a lengthy campaign he was successful and de Lacy was pardoned, through the good offices of his brother. William died in 1231 and was succeeded by his brother Richard. Richard was the leader of a rebillion against royal authority in Wales and when Henry III went on a punitive expedition against him, he was singularly unsuccessful. It was decided to hit at Marshall through his Irish properties and by January 1234 orders had been sent ot the great Anglo Norman lords to attack the Marshall lands. The lands conquered by any one of them was to be given to the one who was victorious. When he received word of this ploy, Richard crossed over to Ireland in February and mounted a counter attack. Peace talks were arranged to take place at the Curragh and when the talks broke down a skirmish ensued. Marshall was mortally wounded and died in Kilkenny on 16 April. His brother Gilbert Marshall was confirmed in his possessions and titles. Gilbert died in 1241 and was succeeded by his brother Walter. Both Walter and his remaining brother Anselm died unmarried and childless within a fortnight of each other in 1245 and the Kingdom of Leinster was divided up between their five sisters. The five new lordships created were Carlow, Kilkenny, Kildare, Leix and Wexford. The new owners were now Bigod, Mortimer, de Clare, Mortimer and Valance respectively. From this period on the descendants of Strongbow would be mainly absentee lords.

The fragile line of the Kavanaghs was continued by the sons and descendants of Donal Kavanagh who gradually rose to prominence by the end of the 13th century, at which time they seem to have become the de facto royal line of the McMurroughs. In 1249 the Kavanaghs seem to have become restless, as FitzGeoffrey the justiciar devastated large areas of Leinster, in an attempt to put down an insurrection headed by 'the sons of kings'. Again in 1272 the Kavanaghs, aided by the O'Byrnes rose in rebellion and were defeated by the justiciar Audeley. Two years later the Gaelic allies again tried to take over lands occupied by the Anglo Normans and when the new justiciar Geoffrey de Joinville tried to impose his rule he was quite unsuccessful and in 1275 he was defeated at Glenmalure but in 1277 this was avenged by the victory of Ralph de Ufford the viceroy, over the Gaelic forces at Glenmalure. The Irishmen were led by the O'Byrne and the McMurrough, Murtagh Kavanagh and his tanaiste Art Kavanagh.

# Chapter 4

# The Resurgence Of The Native Irish

FROM THE time of the Earl Marshall, the Norman colony increased and they began building substantial stone fortresses, and improving the towns already built by the Norsemen, which were mainly collections of wooden type houses. The Prendergasts built a castle at Enniscorthy, and Ferns castle was fortified by a succession of Constables who held it for the King. A castle was built at Wexford, and Ross was fortified by the Earl Marshall who established the town of New Ross. In the south of the county, where the colonization was most complete, many strong houses were erected by the burgeoning numbers of Knights who received land grants as their rewards, for service done in Ireland. These included families such as FitzHenry, Barry, Browne, Devereux, Cheevers, Esmonde, Furlong, Keating, Lambert, Meyler, Pettit, Roche, Redmond, Sinnott, Rochford, Codd, Whitty and Walsh. Sub infeudation took place on a massive scale in the southern baronies coupled with a mass migration of people from Wales These settlers gradually assimilated with the Norse who had been in the area for three centuries before them and over the course of the next three centuries they became a totally isolated group confined to the area they inhabited and constantly being attacked and harried by the Irish families to the north. The people lived and intermarried among the families of the district and in the course of time they developed a hybrid language called Yola, a mixture of French, Flemish, English and Irish. The district they inhabited consisted mainly of the baronies of Forth and Bargy and including some parts of Shelburne and Shelmalier. It was bounded by the Slaney on the north and the Pill from Bannow to the Slaney in the south. It became known in the later Middle Ages as the Wexford 'Pale'.

During the period of the lifetime of the Earl, William the Marshall, and for fifty years after his death, the district of Ui Cinnsealaigh was a relatively peaceful place. The Kavanaghs and the Murphys were paid black rents by the Norman community and as was stated earlier, the town of Ross did not require a wall until near the end of the 13th century. Hore in his History of Ross states

'the claims of friendship, if not fealty, to which the foundress of Ross (Isabella, Strongbow's and Aoife's daughter who married William the Marshall in 1189) found she might still lay claim with her clansmen, are sufficiently evidenced in the fact that for almost a century after its foundation the town was not fortified. It was situated in the midst of the territory of the royal Clan Kavanagh, the most agressive and predatory of the Irish septs; yet its buildings, churches and its famous bridge were suffered to be raised without molestation, and its trade to be so developed as to mingle in a few years in commerce with most of the ports of Southern Europe and the Levant.'

It is noted in the accounts of Thomas Wade, Receiver of the Baronies of Old Ross and the Island, that Arthur McMurrough was paid £6 and Murtagh his brother was paid 33s. 4d. To put those payments in perspective cows were fetching 10s on the open market. In the account of the Provost of Ross, William the Goldsmith, it was noted that 40s was paid for a cask of wine for Arthur McMurrough and 6s. 8d. was paid to John le Especer for a robe for Arthur McMurrough, 5s for a hood and 5s for furs for the same. The other Norman towns were probably paying similar sums to the McMurroughs to keep the peace as the same Roll mentions that there were so many payments made out of Leinster funds for Arthur and Murtagh Kavanagh the 'Makurch', that after their deaths the amounts could not be known, or account made for them to the Exchequer.

However, the newer breed of Norman / English administrators and the descendants of the Norman settlers began to throw covetous glances at the vast area of country centering on Mount Leinster and the Blackstairs and inhabited by the Kavanaghs and other Irish clans, already mentioned - the Briens and Breens of the Duffry, the Keoghs, Dorans, Murphys, Ryans, Nolans, Kinsellas and Hanricks. In order to further their ambitions the Lord Justice, Stephen de Fulbourn, the Bishop of Waterford and newly appointed justiciar, plotted to have the McMurrough, Murtagh Kavanagh and his tanaiste, his brother Art assassinated. To this end the Kavanagh brothers were invited to a feast in Arklow, then under Anglo / Norman control. There they were treacherously murdered. This crime committed in 1281, signalled the start of a long period of unrest among the Irish and we find that this state of affairs continued up to the epoch of the Bruce invasion and beyond. However John Fitzthomas FitzGerald did succeed in obtaining the submission of Maurice Kavanagh in 1292. He was the son of

Murrough the McMurrough who was executed in 1281. The peace with the Kavanaghs and the Irish of Leinster didn't last very long as we find that in 1297 the Irish burnt Leighlin and again in 1302 it was noted that there was fighting in Ui Cinnsealaigh. In 1305, it was recorded that money was spent by Adam de Rufe of Wexford town to hire guards to protect the citizens 'from the malice of the Irish of the mountains of Leinster' and Wogan the justiciar had his hands full with war in Leinster where the Seneschal of Wexford, Adam de la Rupe (Roche), fell in battle.

It would appear that Maurice, the son of Murrough Kavanagh, became the McMurrough following the treacherous murders and we find that in the early part of the 14th century Ross was attacked and burnt as was noted in the Royal charter, 'and moreover considering how that the said town has been now lately burned and the paucity of its inhabitants there, who, (suffering daily insults from Donald Kavanagh, Tanaiste to Maurice, his thieves and others of his following, our Irish enemies,) are prepared to abandon and leave the said town a waste.

There was unrest too in England, where ati semitism reared its head. The Jews were banished from England by Edward the King. In Europe the very first stirrings of the Renaissance were detected in the widespread use of stained glass in windows and the invention of spectacles.

In 1307 Murrough (Maurice) Ballagh Kavanagh was beheaded by Sir David Caunton (de Cantiton) at Merton in London. In or about this time most of the lands of Glascarrig owned by the de Cantitons was bequeathed to the Priory. From this time on the family seems to have left Wexford and they moved to Cork, where they owned other property. One can speculate that this was done to appease the wrath of the Kavanaghs and in atonement for the crime. Sir David was arraigned for the murder and was hanged in Dublin two years later. Very little seems to be known about the circumstances surrounding this particular crime but given that it happened in London, one could reasonably assume that Murrough was brought there on a visit by Sir David and following some kind of personal row he was killed. Donal Kavanagh became the McMurrough following the death of his cousin Maurice. He continued the clan opposition to the Anglo Normans and in 1308 Athy was burned. Wogan took the field against the combined O'Byrne - O'Toole - Kavanagh alliance but his army received a severe setback in Glenmalure. The combined forces again attacked and burnt Saggart in 1310 and this drew a swift response from the government. An expedition led by Edmond Butler,

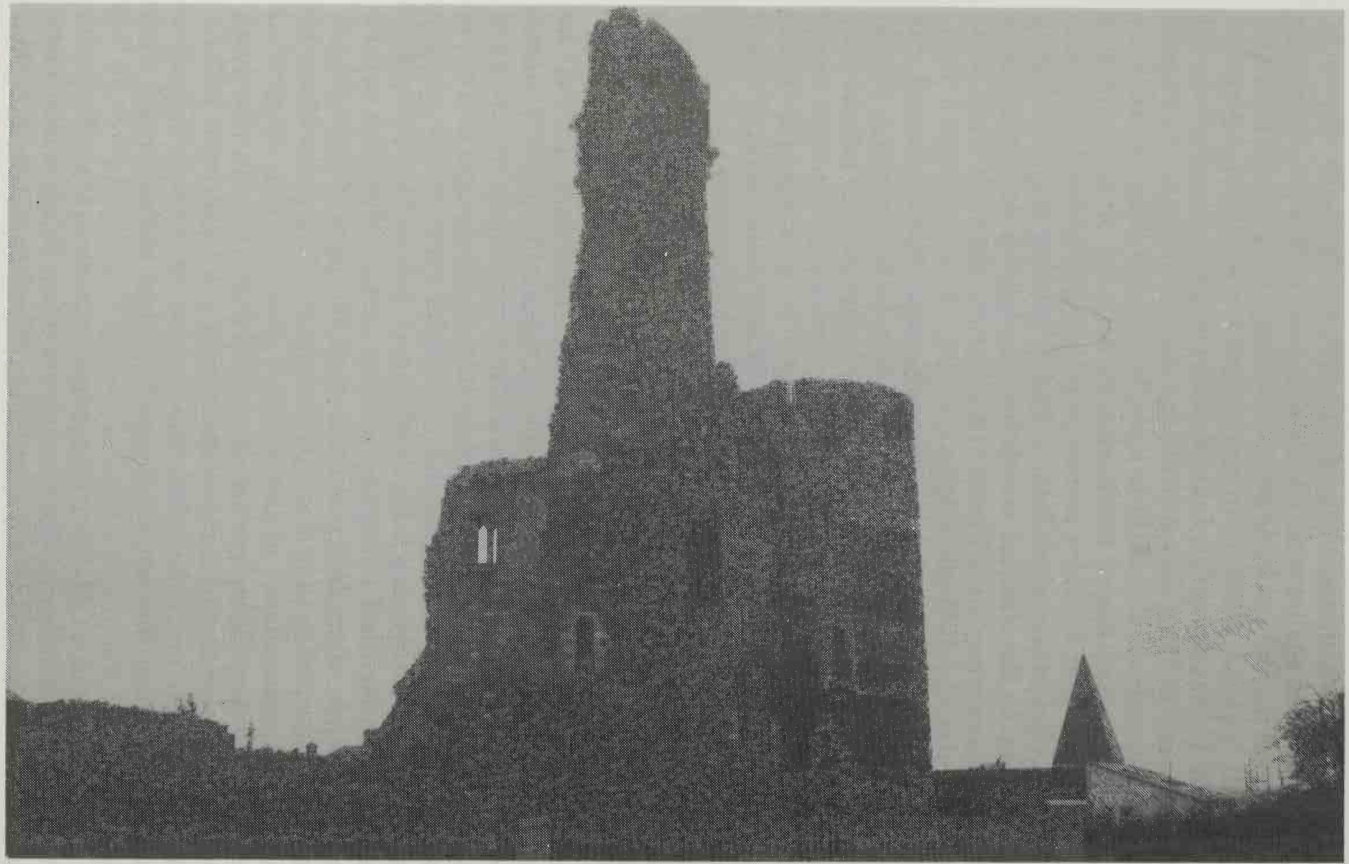
penetrated Glenmalure and 'brough the O'Byrnes to heel'.

The Manor of Courtown, which was part of the Glascarrig de Cantiton property was given to one Raymond McMurrough Kavanagh in 1311. This man may have been a bastard son of Murrough Kavanagh, the late McMurrough, by one of the de Cantiton women. It is though that the sept of Redmonds of north Wexford are descended from this man. It is interesting to note that the Kavanaghs had begun to intermarry with the Normans at this stage as the use of Norman names implies. It is probable that the sept of Hanrick descended from a Henry McMurrough and they continued on in the district which became known as Clanhanrick betwen Ballycarney and Ferns right up to the time they were dispossessed in the 1609 plantation.

The Manor of Courtown passed to Murtagh Roe Kavanagh, the son of Murrough the McMurrough, in the following year, (1312) which he held at the will of the King. As payment was required for the lands, he explained he could not pay, 'as the lands were waste owing to the King's enemies.' Surprisingly he was engaged by the Administration to suppress felons and robbers in the north Wexford / south Wicklow area and was to be paid £1,100 pounds out of the Treasury for wages for the men at arms etc., used in the campaign. Instructions were sent to the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops, Abbots and Priors and other religious bodies, that they were not to shelter the felons, but to aid and contribute towards the expedition.

Of course the Manor of Courtown was only a small part of the lands controlled by the McMurroughs of whom Donal at this time was the chief or king. They controlled the whole of the area centering on the Blackstairs and much of the area around Ferns and Sliabh Bui. Their immediate relatives the Murphys, known as the O'Mochoes and Murrows whose chief was known as 'the O'Morchoe' dwelt and controlled the area known as the Morrows which comprised Shelmalier North and the southern part of Ballaghkeen barony. It is probably they were paid some rents in peace times by the Norman descendants of the original grantees. It is likely that most of the modern Murphys are descended from the clan who dwelt in this area but many of the descendants of the Kavanaghs of later centuries who were called Murchadh also inherited the name Murphy because of the ineptitude and ignorance of the English 17th century clerks.

The Kingdom of Ui Cinnsealaigh was devastated by the disturbances that followed the Bruce wars when Edward Bruce who though to be King was defeated and slain. The Kavanaghs and their



Ferns Castle

neighbours the Byrnes and O'Tooles appear to have been directly involved in the Bruce wars, as Hore records that 'the whole of South Leinster was greatly disturbed by the ravages of the Kavanaghs, and the general rising in favour of Bruce. Carlow and its mountain chains, reaching on towards central Ireland was the home and hot bed of the Kavanagh sept, one of the most powerful Celtic tribes. They joined the arms of Bruce and the war path of the united forces was directed towards Wexford. Ferns, lying directly in the line of march from Carlow, became the scene of some of their bloodiest operations in Ireland. The septs of the O'Birnes and O'Tooles of Wicklow at this point also swelled the ranks of the insurgents. The Anglo Irish Bishop of Ferns at this time was Adam de Northampton. His episcopate was a stormy one, since from its beginning to its close his sword was seldom sheathed. Bruce attacked the Castle of Ferns and routed the Bishop, who fled to Wexford. The Constable of Wexford, placed what troops he could spare under the command of the warlike prelate and he promptly returned to Ferns and took the field against Bruce. The fortune of war changed many times and it was only when the city of Ferns was burned and when defeat had elsewhere in Ireland overtaken the arms of Bruce, that the Castle of Ferns was recovered by the Bishop.

In 1323 Donal, son of Arthur McMurrough Kavanagh, who was beheaded at Arklow, raised his forces and displayed his banners withing two miles of Dublin. He was opposed by the forces of the Crown, under Sir Henry Traherne and Walter de Valle. In the ensuing battle, the O'Nolan was killed and twenty five of the combined Kavanagh Nolan force were killed. Donal Kavanagh was captured and lodged in Dublin castle. The two English leaders received a reward of one hundred and ten pounds. Traherne later received two hundred pounds from the Kavanaghs to spare Donal's life. Donal who was a cousin of Maurice the McMurrough who died around the year 1307, was the McMurrough at this time.

It appears that following this defeat, the Kavanaghs, Briens of the Duffry, O'Morchoes and the O'Byrnes were forced to give hostages and in 1324 Maurice de Rupefort was instructed to deliver all the hostages to the custody of the constable of the castle of Wexford. This Maurice was most likely to have been the Constable of Dublin Castle. This was done and the hostages were freed two months later.

It would appear that although Donal Kavanagh was still a prisoner, the clan was very active at this time and Ryan notes that the barony of Idrone was forcibly seized by them. However they were actively pursuing the prospect of effecting the release of Donal and

through bribery, one Adam Nangle was persuaded to assist in organising his escapte. Nangle was an official in the castle and he duly obliged. Donal's escape was effected but Nangle was discovered to have been part of the escape plot and he was put to torture, confessed and was executed.

The escape of Donal in 1329 signalled the commencement of general hostilities against the English and the Irish of Leinster plundered their lands and churches. Ryan describes a massacre at 'Freinstown' (probably Friarstown) in county Carlow, where 'the savages attacked the priest and congregation and burnt them to death, forcing them back into the flames with their javelins'. Hore gives an even more vivid account of the episode and places Freneystown in Co Wicklow. Hores version is based on a translation from the Annals of the Four Master: 'About this syson (1331) certain Irishmen did traitorouslie take the Castle of Ferns and burned it. The xix daies of Aprill this seyson the Irishmen of Leinster invaded the Country, preyed it, burned churches, and in the Church of Ferneston wherein was xx men and women, and the priest of the same Church, being adorned with the holie cloth, the Sacrament with him, went out amonge them, whom they thrust with their speeres into the said Church and burned him among the rest and when the news thereof came to the Pope, he sent his bulls to the Archbusshope of Dublin, commanding him that he should excommunicate the said Irishmen, their adherents and followers and also to accurse their lande, which the said Busshope did accordingly. But the said Irish, full of Malles (malice) neglecting and small esteeming their duty to God, and to the Church, persevering still in folly again assembled themselves and went to ye country to Carcorn (Carne) and in their return certain Englishmen of the Contry, that is to say Richard White, Richard FitzHenry, with the Bourkes of Wexford and other Englishmen subjects, met them and killed four score of them and many of them fleeing home to their Country were drowned in the river called the Slaine.'

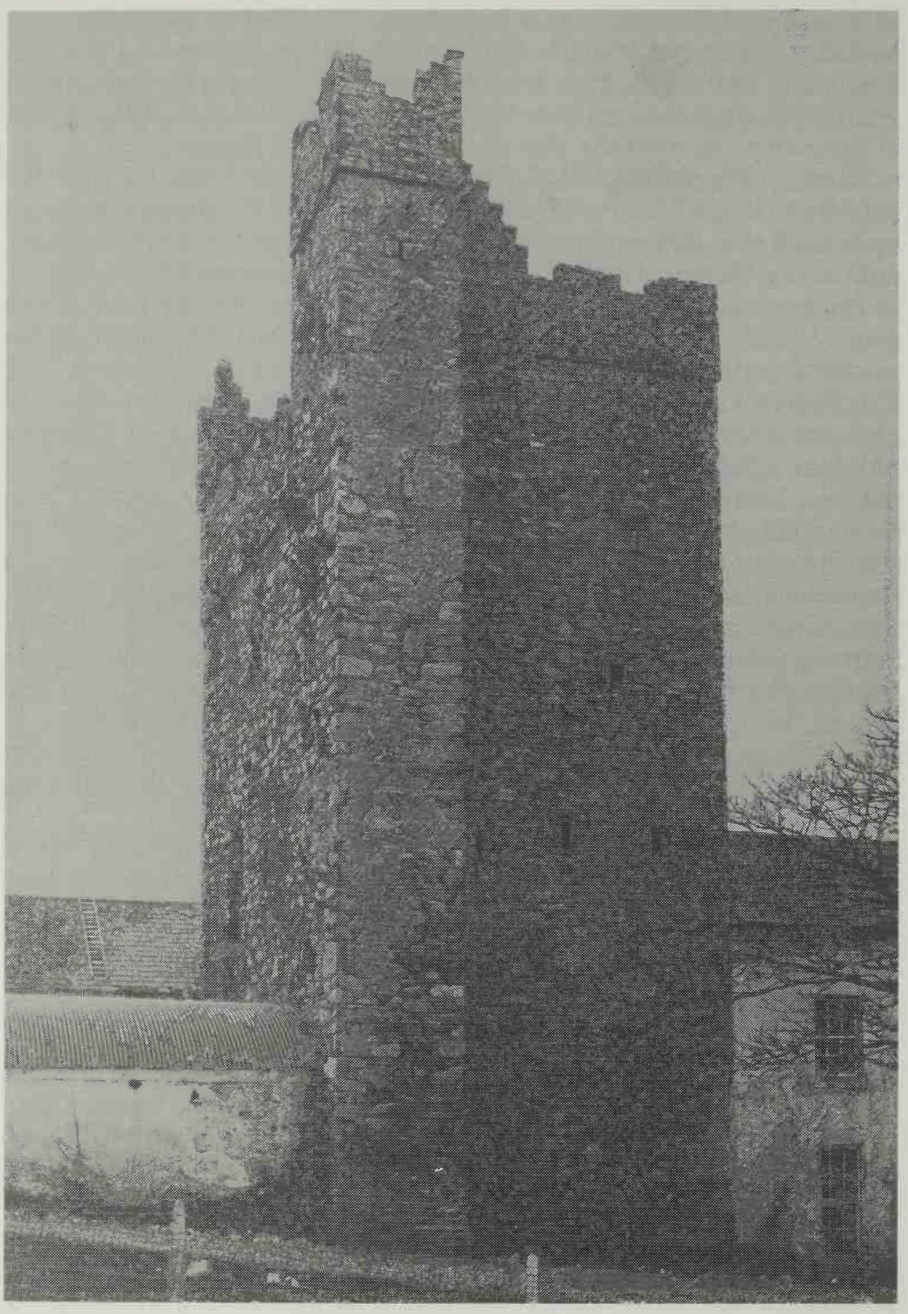
As noted above in Hores account, the castle of Ferns was attacked and burned by the Kavanaghs and ownership passed to the Crown because of absenteeism and neglect.

The clan went on the rampage and destroyed English holdings in what is now modern Co. Wexford, raiding as far south as Duncannon. The 'English' forces of the south of the county mobilised and under Richard FitzHenry they engaged the raiders in a pitched battle. 80 of the raiding party were killed and many more lost their lives, drowned in the river Slaney while fleeing northwards. This

raid and and its outcome, was to have the effect of deepening the hostility between the Irish of the north of the county and the Old English of the south. This hostility lasted for almost three hundred years with continual raids being unleashed by the Irish of the North of the county against the Palesmen of Forth and Bargy.

Hore in his article called 'The Clan Kavanagh Temp Henry VIII' said that 'Donal McArt Kavanagh, who was the McMurrough at the epoch of the Bruce invasion, seized the opportunity of this shattering blow to English power in Ireland to extend the territory of his ancient race, by recovering for them the greater part of the county of Carlow, and three parts of Co. Wexford. He assumed his ancestor's title of King of Leinster and caused the bordering Englishry to render him blackmail for the consideration of protecting them from being plundered, and it was deemed politic to pay him eighty marks yearly, which was continued to his successors for two hundred years under the name of McMurrough's Black Penny. This is the sole recorded instance of 'cios dubh' being paid by the Crown to a line of Irish kings. As the clan increased they ejected the colonists descended from and planted by Strongbow's barons, banishing Lord Carew from Idrone, and uprooting Lord Neville from Baron's Court near Gorey, in order to extend a main line of their family, the Sliocht Cinnseallaigh, in that direction; expelld the Denns from the Barony of Kayer and sacked th strong fortress of Ferns; they destroyed the castle of Enniscorthy and drove out the Prendergasts and Rochforts who were feudal lords of the adjacent district.'

The English were determined to repress the rebellious Irish of Leinster and the Kavanaghs in particular. In 1332, the Lord Justice, Sir John Darcy, invited Maurice FitzGerlad, the Lord of Desmond, to raise an army and attack Ui Cinnsealaigh. FitzGerald managed to raise and army of ten thousand men, one of the largest seen in the country since the Bruce wars, and marched on Leinster. He was met by the forces of the Kavanaghs, and their allies, the Nolans, Ryans, Briens, Murphys and Byrnes who conducted some type of guerilla warfare against the invaders, avoiding a pitched battle. The invading army marched through the countryside burning and looting. The Irish clans decided to submit and gave hostages. Being unable to pay such a huge army the wages due to them, the Lord Justice resorted to coignye and livery - the first time this was imposed on the Irish population by the English who despised the practice. Coignye and livery was practised as a matter of course by the Gaelic chieftains and consisted of billeting their military



Ballyteigue Castle, home of the Whittys

followers on the civilian population, food and entertainment expected, and also foddering their horses and pack animals.

In the following year Hore notes the town of Ross was attacked by the Irish and 27 men of the town were slain in the battle. He did not mention whether the town was captured or not but it would appear likely that it withstood the attack.

A year later the English felt bold enough to attack and retake Ferns castle from the Kavanaghs, when a large force under Sir Richard Whyttey besieged the strategic fortress.

Whyttey or Whittey as the family are now called, were the principal landowners in the Ballyteigue area near Kilmore Quay, and their main dwelling was at Ballyteigue castle. The first recorded Whyttey was Robert, a Norman knight who held the castle in 1245. Sir Richard's son also called Robert later became bishop of Ferns in 1415.

Ferns castle was held for the crown by a succession of constables for the next decade and a half, including John fitz John fitz Eustace (1339 - 40) Raymond Mulker (1340 - 41) and Sir George de Rochefore (1343 -46).

The Rocheforts were a famous Norman family whose first notable man Maurice, married the daughter of Gerald de Prendergast and through her acquired the Prendergast interests in Enniscorthy, Shelmalier West, the Duffry and in Munster. Their main seat in Wexford was at Tagunnan in the parish of Mayglass, following their expulsion from Enniscorthy by the Kavanaghs as mentioned above.

Shortly after the taking of the castle of Ferns by Sir Richard Whytty the English of the Wexford Pale went on the offensive against the Gaelic septs to the north, led by Matthew FitzHenry. The Palesmen were badly mauled on this occasion and two hundred of their number were killed, including Matthew. The FitzHenrys, whose descendants are widespread in Wexford today, were descended from the grandsons of Henry II, Meiler and Robert who landed in Bannow in 1169. Their principal seat was at Kilcavan near Ballymitty and the main branch of the family lived there for centuries.

The event described above took place in 1336, and in the following year a monmentous happening occured which was to have a profound effect on the island of Ireland and did much to shape the history of the following three hundred years. This was the declaration by King Edward III that he was the King of France which signalled the commencement of the Hundred Years War. Because of their costly and prolonged involvement in the War, the

English neglected the Irish problem and left the way wide open for the resurgence of the Gaelic chieftains. This resurgence was hastened by the fact that the native Irish had learned about warfare from the Normans in many costly encounters and by the middle of the 14th century they could match their military tactics and had begun to use armour and hired mercenaries.

The effect of the declaration mentioned above was not felt immediately, and we find the Chief Justice and the English army raiding in Idrone in 1339. In the course of this foray, it is said that the greatest booty ever seized in the country was taken from the Ui Cinnsealaigh, particularly the Nolans and Ryans.

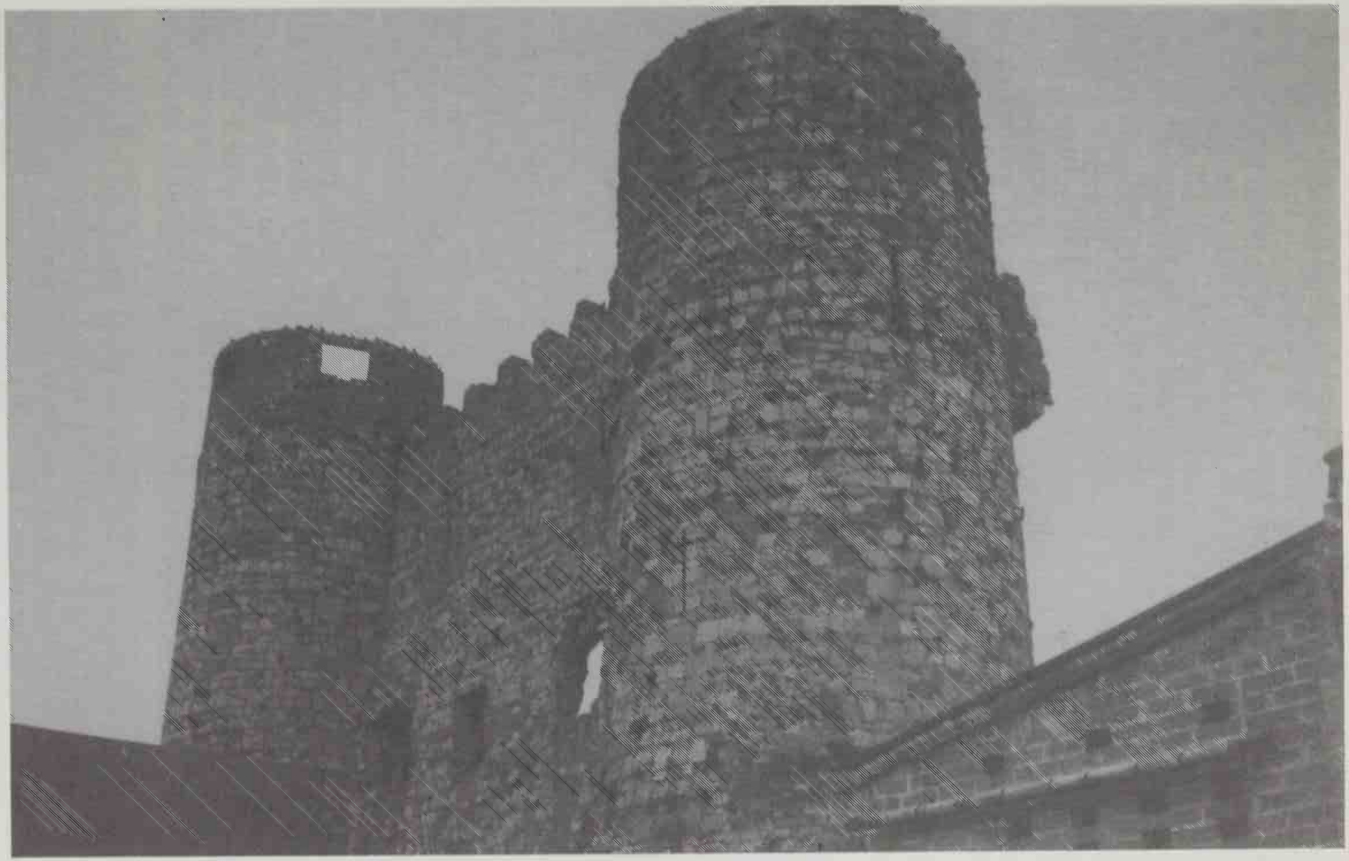
Again, in 1344, the Viceroy, Sir Ralph de Ufford, burned the lands of the Kavanaghs in Ui Cinnsealaigh and forced the McMurrough to give hostages. One could speculate that in the intervening period between the foray of the Chief Justice and the incendiary visit of the Viceroy, that the Gaelic clans of Ui Cinnsealaigh were giving as good as they got and the farms and holdings of any English or Anglo Norman tenants were not the safest places in Ireland.

It should be mentioned that the Black Death was ravaging Europe at this time and the Anglo Normas suffered much more than the native Irish. This was because they tended to congregate in towns while the Irish lived in isolated scattered holdings. Many of the Anglo Normans returned to England at this time but they fared no better there and the plague claimed many lives. Anglo Irish power declined somewhat and many of their manors and villages were deserted and taken over later by the Irish.

Two years after the attentions of the Viceroy, the Kavanaghs attacked and took the castle of Ferns and drove out the Constable, Sir William Fitz Eustace de Ruye. He managed to persuade the Palesmen of South Wexford to come to his assistance and they sent a force under Sir Ralph Meiler, who was Guardian of the Peace for Co. Wexford. They succeeded in recapturing the castle with much difficulty.

The Meiler (Meyler) family are a Wexford family worthy of note also. They descended from Meiler FitzHenry (as did the FitzHenry family) and are therefore descended from Henry I and his Welsh mistress Nesta. They built a castle at Duncormick which was still standing up to the middle of the 19th century. The Sir Ralph mentioned above was responsible for the granting of free passage for all shipping to the port of Ross, by the King in 1340.

Practically all the recorded events dealing with the Irish during the Middle Ages were recorded by the English clerks who attended



Carlow Castle

the great lords, such as the FitzGeralds, the Ormondes and the Viceroy. The killing of Donal Reagh Kavanagh on the 5th of June 1347, is simply recorded as 'killed by his own followers'. But an examination of his position in the Derbh Fine may clarify the 'killing' somewhat. He was the eldest son of Donal Og Kavanagh, (the son of Art, who was murdered in Arklow in 1282) who had been the McMurrough since early in the century. It may well be the case, that, following the death of the McMurrough and King of Leinster at about this time, a dispute ensued over the vacant title. In any event the next recorded McMurrough was Murtagh Roe Kavanagh, a great grandson of Murtagh who along with his brother Art was beheaded in Arklow in 1282. Disputes about the Kingship were fairly common among the clans of Ireland in the Middle Ages.

Under the new leadership of Murtagh Roe, the Gaelic clans of Ui Cinnsealaigh continued their assaults on the English tenants and the strongholds of the English Lords, and he was offered payment to discontinue the hostilities It would appear that the bishop of Ferns was residing in the castle at this time and refused to pay the McMurrough his black rent. Ferns castle was besieged in 1350 but the Irish were repulsed by Bishop Charnels, a formidable fighting man.

Sometime in the middle of the decade Murtagh Roe was treacherously murdered by the English and a great war broke out. His son Art More, now became the McMurrough and led the harassment of the English settlers. In the course of events the O'Nolans destroyed the castle of Sir John de Cornwalle at a place then called Kibelle (Ryan) in Carlow, while two fortifications at Galbarrstown and Rathlynn near Leighlin, were captured by the Kavanaghs and the O'Byrnes. The Anglo Irish, in desperation called a great council in Kilkenny aad sent an urgent message to King Edward, informing him that 'the treasury is empty, so that war cannot be maintained or the land defended. The Irish, your enemies, as one assent and covenant, commence to levy war throughout all your land, burning, destroying, and preying daily your lieges of those parts'. They then requested the King to send 'a good sufficient chieftain, stocked and strengthened, with men and treasure, of which they can live, as a good and noble price is bound to do for his lieges'.

This communication must have shocked the King because he caused a huge army to be assembled under the command of his son Lionel, Duke of Clarence which embarked for Ireland in the spring of 1361. It was coincidental that the English and French had

concluded a peace in May and Scotland was at peace with Edward also.

Art More, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, was captured by the army of the Duke of Clarence, the new Viceroy of Ireland and was imprisoned in Dublin castle where he died, possibly from the plague. Lionel himself does not appear to have taken part in the actual campaign as he expended vast sums of money in having the living quarters of the Castle refurbished to house himself and his family. He also held tournaments and entertainments there. Sometime early in the campaign a decision was made to transfer the Administration or Government to Carlow, which was seen as the most strategic and important town in Ireland as it controlled the river Basins of the Barrow and Slaney and was withing easy reach of the areas seen as giving most trouble to the Anglo Normans, Wexford and Offlay / Leix. The great castle was repaired and the town walls also. The move poved to be an own goal, as in 1364, we find the Treasurer complaining that 'as the town of Carlow is on the frontier of the Irish rebels, there is no safe access to it by the King's lieges'. Many officials excused themselves from attending because of the dangers they would encounter in travelling there and the town was constantly attacked and parts of it burned. The situation deteriorated so much in the next three decades, that Richard II had the centre of Administration moved back to Dublin when he came to Ireland at the close of the century.

The Duke of Clarence does not appear to have accomplished much in Ireland during his years of office and the constant bickering between the Viceroy and the Anglo Irish lords over who was to pay for the cost of the wars in Ireland had a serious effect on the general morale of the planters. The Gaelic Irish capitalized on this situation and it appears that the Kavanaghs and O'Byrnes extended their spheres of influence during this time. The McMurrough who succeeded Art More, was Dermot, the son of Donal Og, who had been the McMurrough earlier in the century and who died about the year 1347. Dermot continued the hostilities, making life more uncomfortable for the Anglo Irish enemies, the planters or farmers brought in from abroad to till the holdings, and the English officials who tried to travel in the dominion of the McMurrough.

A further complication for the Duke of Clarence was the tendency of the great Anglo Irish lords to go native - using the Brehon law, speaking the Irish language, dressing in the Irish fashion, riding horses bareback, and fostering and intermarrying with the Irish. In order to counteract this retrograde decline he caused Parliament, in

1366 to pass a body of law which became known as the Statutes of Kilkenny forbidding all the Anglo Irish from continuing the usages mentioned above. The laws as such were not aimed at subjugating the Irish but were passed to try to halt the slide of the Anglo Irish lords into 'depravity'. Others of the statutes attempt to regulate war with the Irish (including the notorious one which forbids in the marches, 'the game which men call 'hurlings', with great clubs at ball upon the ground, from which great evils and maims have arisen to the weakening of the defence of the said land'). More dealt with the maintenance of order in the land of peace, while still more dealt with rights and liberties of the church.

Shortly after this Lionel, Duke of Clarence left Ireland and his successor was named. He was William of Windsor, who had served in the Irish campaign with Lionel and was considered experienced enough to undertake the post of Viceroy. His indenture of February 1369 instructed that he was to bring with him 200 men at arms, 300 mounted archers, and he was to receive £20,000 during the first three years of his office to enable him to hire more soldiers and pay all his other expenses. He was further instructed to ensure that all additional expenses for the wars in Ireland were to be met by the Anglo Irish colonists.

He arrived in Ireland in the Summer of 1369 and commenced a campaign against the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles and Kavanaghs. In the course of this campaign Dermot Kavanagh, the McMurrough, and King of Leinster was captured and killed. Windsor cut short his campaign in Leinster when he got news of uprisings in Munster involving the O'Briens and McNamaras and he directed his course there.

In the latter part of 1370 Windsor's campaigns were beginning to drain the treasury and he was instructed to get his monies from the Landowners. This he did, often by force and the inhabitants of the various Anglo Norman enclaves set up such a clamour that the king was forced to recall Windsor in the spring of 1371.

In Ui Cinnsealgih the new McMurrough was Art McDermot, son of Dermot who had been captured and executed by Windsor, and he immediately began to exert himself to extend his sphere of influence. The owner and ruler of the manor and castle of Enniscorthy, Sir John de Rochford died and as his heir was only a minor the King appointed Matthew FitzHenry as his guardian and custodian of the castle. The Irish, under Art McDermot tried to capture this fortress on numberous occasions in the next decade and failed. But they were spectacularly successful in pushing back the

Anglo Normans and the English in the rest of Ui Cinnsealaigh. They recovered the greater part of Co. Carlow, burnt the town but failed to take the castle, were repulsed from taking Leighlin castle, but extended clan rule over two thirds of the county of Wexford with the exception of Enniscorthy and Ferns castles and the protected areas adjacent to them. By occupying the two great river valleys of the Slaney and the Barrow the Irish of Ui Cinnsealaigh dealt a most severe blow to the Crown forces, from which they were unable to recover for two centuries. Art McDermot's Tanaiste was a man who brought the power of the Kavanaghs to its zenith, a man of courage, resolve and vision. He was the famous Art, the son of Art More who had been imprisoned in 1361 - Art McMurrough Kavanagh.

# Chapter 5

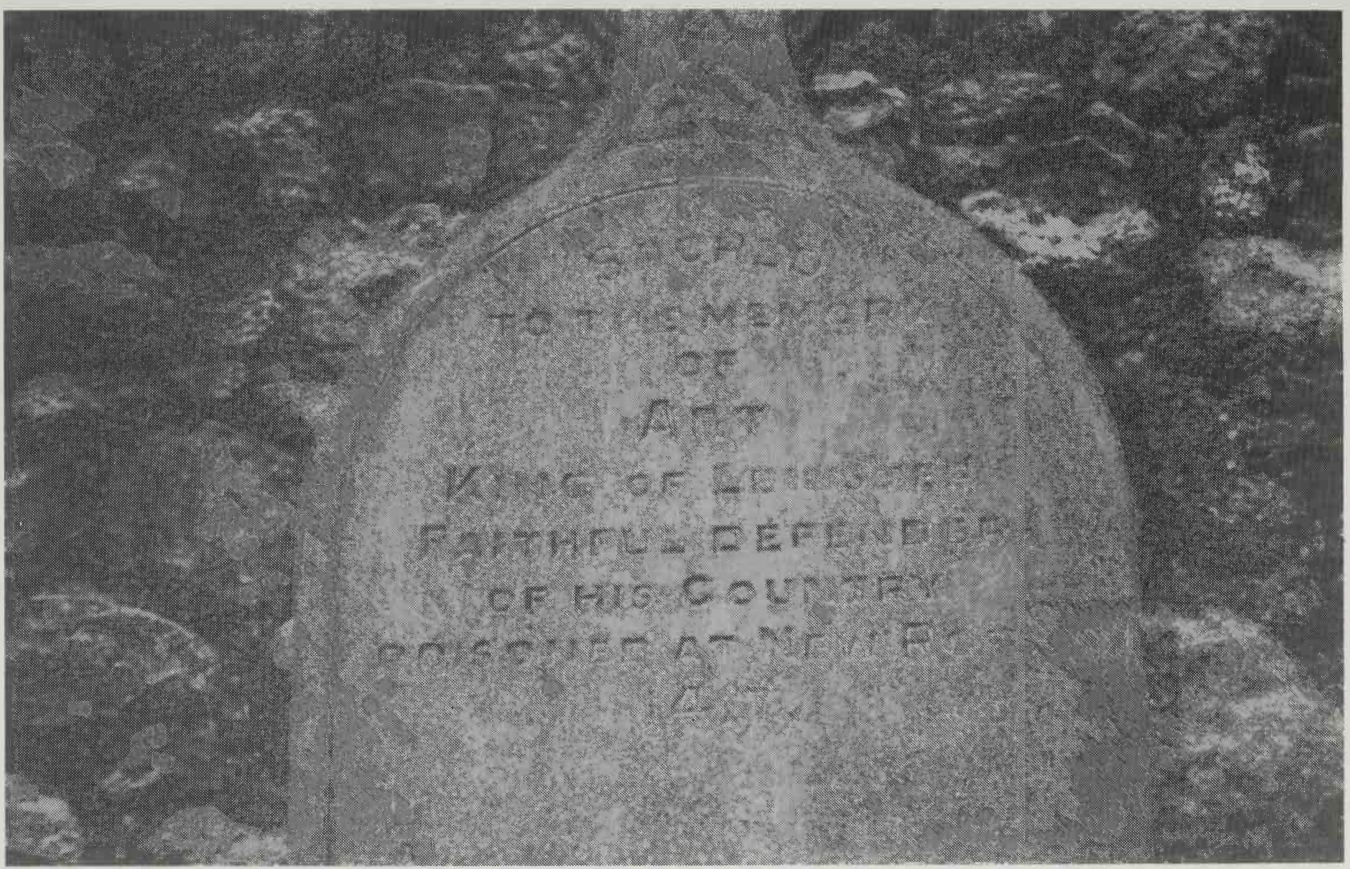
# THE CAREER OF ART MCMURROUGH KAVANAGH

IN THE graveyard of St. Mullins there is an unusual headstone. The inscription reads as follows: 'Sacred to the memory of Art, King of Leinster. Faithful defender of his Country. Poisoned at Ross, 1417. R.I.P. Erected by the St. Mullins Exiles in New York.

What is unusual about it, is, that it was caused to be erected by emigrants from the St. Mullins area in this century and it was erected in the ancient Kavanagh burial ground of St. Mullins, where in fact Art was buried, but no monument dating from the period exists to his name.

In the Ireland of the 14th and 15th centuries two distinct cultures and two distinct groupings of people existed in a state of mutual distrust and mutual hostility. The Anglo Normans and their visiting English officials comprised one group and culture and the Gaelic Irish the other. The former especially in parts of south Wexford, continued with English laws, customs, dress and social behaviour while the Irish conformed to the Brehon law, spoke the Irish language, dressed in the Irish fashion and held their lands in common as tribes.

Art Kavanagh the McMurrough who succeeded Art McDermot Kavanagh sometime in the 1370s was born in the 1350s into a world of warring factions. His father, the McMurrough was captured in 1361 and died in prison. The Kavanaghs, with their allies the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, O'Moores and the sub tribes of Ui Cinnsealaigh - the Murphys, Ryans, Keoghs, Dorans, Briens, O'Neills, Redmonds, Hanricks, Kinsellas and Nolans continued their unrelenting war against the invaders. When Art succeeded Art McDermot as the McMurrough, he continued to apply pressure on the administration. According to Hore, at the time of the accession of Richard II, Arthur McMurrough, Chief of the Clan Kavanagh, carried fire and sword throughout the northern part of the county. He was resisted however, at Enniscorthy, by Matthew FitzHenry in charge there of the Castle. He goes on to quote an offical communique from the




Gravestone in memory of Art McMurrough erected by the New York exiles from St. Mullins

King: 'Richard by the grace of God, King of England etc. To the treasurers and chamberlains of his exchequer of Ireland, greeting. Know ye that we, considering the great charges and labours and also the losses, which Matthias fitzHenry has repeatedly sustained, as well by the slaughter of seven of his men as in divers other ways, about the custody of the castle of Inescorthy, situated as it is said among Irish, which belonged to John de Rocheford, knight, deceased, who held it in chief of the Lord Edward, late king of England our grandfather; and which was taken and seised into the hands of our said grandfather, by the death of the said John and by reason of the minority of the heir of the said John, and for that cause is yet in our hand; which same castle the said Matthias has hitherto faithfully kept for five years last past and more, in resistance to the malice of the said Irish and the comfort and relief of our faithful liege men and of the parts adjacent to the said castle, without anything in the meantime had for the custody of the aforesaid except 40s as we have heard; and perceiving the injuries and dangers which before this time would often have happened, to the said liege men and to the neighbouring parts, unless the castle aforesaid had been thus kept, and willing that the said Matthias be in some way rewarded we have granted to the said Matthias 100s out of our treasury'.

The accession of Art as the McMurrough in the mid 1370s coincided with renewed warfare against the Anglo Irish strongholds. In March 1375 the Mayor and citizens of Waterford, once one of the most prosperous and progressive settlements in Ireland, complained to the king of 'divers slaughters lately made by the King's enemies, to wit, of the mayor, bailiffs, sheriff, coroner, clerk and twenty six of the better men of the city as well as eight men of England, and six weeks afterwards twenty four of the better men of the city. The country round is despoiled and burnt and destroyed up to the walls'.

In the following year John Young, the bishop of Leighlin was 'plundered of all his goods'. Again in 1378 the Mayor and Citizens of Ross in a letter to the Parliament state that 'considering that the Irish enemies have destroyed the neighbouring parts up to the Walls, and killed the greater part of the gentry of the said town, and approach from day to day even to the said Walls, the Sovereign and Burgesses are reduced to such state of poverty, and the mischiefs produced by the causes aforesaid, that they are unable any longer to endure them, and cannot protect in any manner the said town, surrounded as it is by the said enemies, and forasmuch as the said Sovereign and Burgesses, and even the town, as all the country

lying there about, are on the point of being finally destroyed, if a speedy remedy be not found therein, therefore the said poor Sovereign and Burgesses beseech you etc.,' Hore goes on to say that, 'with the attacks of the Irish enemies outside the walls, pestilence and feuds within, heavy burden levied on every taxable commodity, ....the unfortunate town of Ross seems to have reached its lowest ebb.'

In 1381 the King issued a circular to the principal officers of the Pale, ordering a general hosting for the defence of the Pale. There are no details of the result of this hosting, and Ui Cinnsealaigh seems to have been relatively trouble free for the next decade, with English officials travelling freely, probably under the protection of the McMurrough. An example of this was the visit of the Lord Deputy, Philip de Courtenay, to Wexford town in 1384, where he held the pleas of the Crown and gaol delivery.

It is recorded that in 1390 Arthur Kavanagh and David Mor McMurrough were paid £125.19.6 and £11 respectively by the Crown, in fees and rewards. To give some indication of the enormous sum paid, it took only £10 annually to pay all the expenses for the upkeep and wages of the garrison of Enniscorthy castle! The David Mor mentioned in the Rolls must have been the person who gave his name to the sept who inhabited the countryside around Kilmuckridge and Wells which is called the Macamores. The people were also called the Macamores and this word is a corruption of the Mac Davy Mor. The McDavymores through David were descended from Murrough na nGael, brother of King Dermot who brought in the Normans in 1169. Ther descendants subsequently assumed the name Davis.

In the same year that he received such generous payment from the Crown, Art married Elizabeth de Veal the daughter of Robert, who owned te barony of Norragh in Co. Kildare and who was the widow of Sir John Staunton. Through his wife, he therefore had connections with the Anglo Normans as both the deVeales and Stauntons were of old Norman stock. It is not known if she was the mother of all or indeed any of his children, but she outlived him and died in 1445.

It would appear that Art captured the castle of Enniscorthy and indeed Ferns by the year 1394 and with the exception of the Wexford pale and the town of Ross, all Wexford and practically all Carlow, with the exception of the castle of Carlow were controlled by him. Hore, a somewhat biased historian goes on to say: 'Towards the close of the 14th century and for a period of more than a hundred years

after, we have no authentic records relating to either the town or castle of Enniscorthy. The McMurrough of this period and his turbulent clan no doubt took temporary possession of this, as they did of other parts of the county but McMurroughs action was only that of a robber chief...he was paid for behaving himself and keeping his clan in check, as shown by our Exchequer entries; but he could not be depended upon to do this, was always breaking out in rebellion, and in the absence of the Lord of the Palatinate, (descendant of Strongbow - Thomas Mowbray, who died in 1411) and sufficient force to check him, McMurrough ravaged the whole country, endeavouring to recover and hold by the sword the whole of Leinster, which his ancestor Dermot had bestowned as a marriage portion on his daughter and which Strongbow had won by the sword. The sword indeed was the only instrument recognized: the country had to be kept by it. Whoever was victorious for the time held the castles, whether Ferns or Enniscorthy, and the neighbouring estates. The representatives of the original Norman proprietors, however, never abandoned their claims, although in this struggle such numbers of them fell that one writer styled Leinster "the cemetery of the valorous Gauls".'

Hore then, having an afterthought, goes on to ponder the legitimacy of the English claim to Ireland in general, and Ui Cinnsealaigh in particular, 'according to Brehon law, the Lordship, or more correctly the Kingship of Leinster at Dermot's death, devolved upon his next kinsman endowed with the capacity and valour adequate to the post: but the land belonged to the clan and could not legally be transferred or disposed of.'

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the career of Art McMurrough Kavanagh was the fact that he survived the two incursions into his territory by Richard II who came with huge well equipped armies on both occasions.

One may well ask why Richard decided to come to Ireland in the first place and the answer is a simple one. During the early years of his reign the incompetence of the Deputies and Viceroys he had appointed was such that the loyal magnates felt that only a determined and aggressive move by the King himself could save the rapidly diminishing fortunes of the landowners and they implored him to come personally. His initial response in 1392 to a plea from the citizens of Dublin, was to organise a huge army under the command of the very ambitious Duke of Gloucester who was to sort out the Irish problems once and for all. But, inexplicably, he cancelled the whole adventure in July of 1392. Then in June of 1394,

having secured a peace with France and an interlude of calm with the Scots, he decided to come to Ireland to finally settle the Irish affairs.

Preparations were begun immediately by ordering the return of all absentee landowners and magnates. These included the Earl of March, Roger Mortimer, who was the Lord of Connaught, and the Earl of Nottingham, Lord of Carlow. The order also extended to the artisans, craftsmen and labourers who appear to have been emigrating to England from the south east in large numbers. At least 6000 archers were assembled and possibly as many men at arms. In addition the army when it landed was to be augmented by the local soldiery and yeomen.

In August, two purveyors were sent to Ireland accompanied by a small force of about three hundred men including mounted archers, men at arms, and grooms. Apparently such a guard was needed to protect the purveyors who were charged with ensuring supplies of food, fodder, and animals for the use of the invading army. The cooperation of the Norman element in Ireland was forthcoming but they were unable to provide all the requirements and Richard, en route for Ireland in September was forced to order supplies sent over from England, an order which he had to repeat in the beginning of the year 1395.

Having commandeered all available shipping in September of 1394, Richard landed in Waterford on the 2nd October. He remained there for three weeks completing his preparations for the Irish campaign. Undoubtedly the Irish chieftains of the whole area must have been fully aware of his arrival and if they did not know his exact plans they must have been aware of his warlike intentions. According to Hore, McMurrough and all the clans of Leinster had sworn never to rest, by day or night, as long as a hostile power existed on their shore. They had sworn it before God, and called on all their saints - St. Moling of the Royal race, St. Kevin of the Valley, St. Laserian the learned, St. Bridget the Spiritual mother of the Island, and St. Aidan, to bear witness to their oaths.

Before coming to Ireland, Richard had written a letter to the Duke of Burgundy, explaining his intentions clearly: he was coming for 'the punishment and correction of our rebels there and to establish good government and just rule over our faithful lieges'. It is also known from correspondence that the English council had advised him to take 'harsh measures' in dealing with the rebels. The English officials were in no doubt as to the very alarming threat to the whole of Leinster posed by the successes of Art the McMurrough.

From Ui Cinnsealaigh, (which encompassed most of County Wexford, all of Carlow with the exception of the castle and town of Carlow, South Wicklow and south Kildare) and in alliance with other lords such as O'Connor of Offaly, O'Moore of Laois, O'Byrne and O'Toole of Wicklow or a combination of these, the King of Leinster threatened Wexford, Kilkenny, Dublin and Kildare. The annexation of the barony of Idrone by McMurrough, strategically placed as it was, on the Barrow, was a terrifying development. Art McMurrough and his allies seemed to Richard the greatest danger to the security of all Ireland.

The country of Ui Cinnsealaigh was of course his first target. In preparation for his attack on the area he first sent small well armed detachments to fortified places, such as Carlow, Ross, Wexford and possibly Enniscorthy and Ferns. This was the system known as 'warding' and in addition he may well have fortified other strong houses. A letter from an Englishman, who was with the King in Leinster, describes how 'our redoubted king and lord, did set certain wards very cunningly, as it seems to me, your humble subject, round about the Irish enemies'. He goes on to tell how the Earl of Rutland was in one, with men at arms and archers and the Marshall in another and so on. The cavalry was deployed in the open country around the wards and in sudden raids into the country of the McMurrough. The same letter describes how the Marshall had 'several fine encounters with them, in one of which he slew many of the people of the said McMurrough' and how he burned nine villages, capturing 8000 of his cattle in the process.' And on another raid he broke in upon him and if he had not been foreseen he would have found the said McMurrough and his wife in their bed. But they being told of the affray, escaped with much difficulty and at such short warning that they were very nearly taken. The fled in such a hurry, that she left behind a chest in which 'were certain items of feminine use, but of no great value'. A much more serious loss was the great seal which McMurrough left behind.

The raiding killing and preying continued apace for ten days at the end of which Art sued for peace and made submission with his sub chiefs and allies, O'Byrne, O'Toole, O'Ryan aad O'Nolan. The King wrote to his chancellor, giving him the good news. "It seems to us that all the land of Leinster is conquered and apparently truly at peace'. In the course of the ten day war, Art, and his allies the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles attacked and burnt New Ross with its houses and castles and carried away from it gold, silve and hostages. The taking of Ross was regarded as a most remarkable military feat by

later historians. The town was defended by 104 crossbow men, 1200 long-bow men, 1200 pikemen, 104 horsemen fighting from behind battlemented walls and entrenched positions. The taking of Ross was a calculated attempt by the Gaelic allies to cut off a course of refuge and supply from the invading army but is was to no avail and McMurrough and his allies rather than see their countries devasted submitted.

As part of the peace settlement Richard insisted that the chiefs of the various clans and their warlike men would give up their claims to their territories and leave the province altogether, and help the King to overcome his enemies in other parts where they would be rewarded with lands in the newly conquered areas. Like Strongbow two hundred years before him, he failed to understand the Brehon laws and he assumed that the chiefs could surrender lands, which was not in fact the case. It was easy therefore for the Gaelic chiefs to agree to the conditions, as they knew, that, under Brehon law, any such agreements were invalid. In addition much diplomatic activity was undertaken and the King seems to have softened his attitude towards the Gaelic lords somewhat as a letter from Gerald O'Byrne to the King showed. He reminded the King that he had surrendered all his lands and possessions to the King who had then given some of them to the Duke of Gloucester and William Lescrope, but had returned all the rest to him. But now however the Earl of Ormonde is claiming 'divers lands and tenements by ancient right within the said country, about which right I know nothing.' It is not known if the King replied to the letter but is is interesting to note that the Ormondes still had an interest in the area around Arklow, some two hundred years later.

Another indication of the change in the King's attitude to the Gaelic kings can be seen in his letter to the Council, written in late January of 1395. In the letter he divides the Irish into three groups - 'the wild Irish our enemies, the Irish rebels and the obedient English'. The 'wild Irish' comprised the clans who had never made submission to the English Crown, such as the O'Donnells, while the 'Irish Rebels' were the Gaelic lords who had submitted in the past - e.g. the O'Neills, O'Briens and McMurroughs. The letter continued 'the said Irish rebels are rebels only because of grievances and wrongs done to them, on one side, and lack of remedy on the other. If they are not wisely trusted and put in good hope of grace they will probably join our enemies'.

Notwithstanding his softening of attitude, the King moved about Ireland and some military engagements took place, but in general

the diplomatic solution was the one sought by most Gaelic lords. A massive number of submissions were made, varying widely from one lord to the next but all involving fealty with homage, the restoration of occupied lands and the acceptance of the rights of mesne lords i.e. English lords or Agnlo Irish lords who held from the king. It appears that the King's aim was to restore legality to the relationship between the Anglo Irish magnates, the Gaelic Lords and the King himself.

To solemenize the arrangements the King summoned the four great Gaelic kings, McMurrough, O'Connor, O'Neill and O'Brien to Dublin in March 1395, where they were knighted.

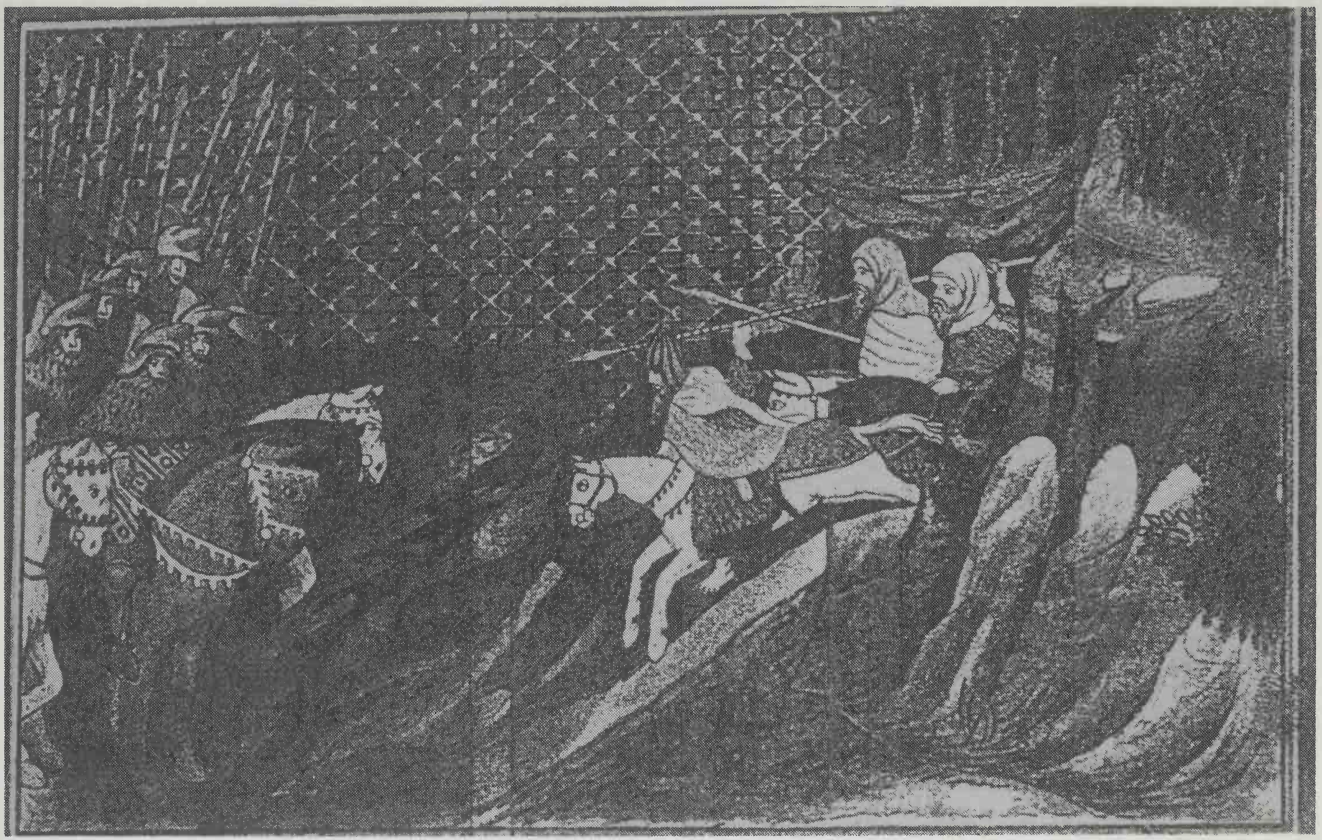
Richard II left Ireland in May and appointed Roger Mortimer as his Viceroy. Mortimer lost no time in trying to assert his authority and within two years came into conflict with the O'Neills in Ulster and with the Kavanaghs in Leinster. Other ambitious Anglo Irish magnates also began to push their claims including Ormonde in the South East. Mortimer himself was killed in a skirmish with the Kavanaghs, near Carlow, sometime during the summer of 1397, when the town of Carlow was seized by Donald McArt Kavanagh the eldest son of the McMurrough, who later became King of Leinster and the founder of the Carlow septs of the Kavanaghs.

The King, who was not unduly upset by the death of Mortimer, whom he saw as a potential rival for the Crown, now appointed the Duke of Surrey as viceroy. The Duke, only accepted the post on condition that he should have a man and wife from each parish or two parishes in England, sent at the King's cost, to inhabit the march areas of Ireland!

By January 1399 the situation had deteriorated so much that Richard began planning a second expedition to Ireland. £13,000 was paid into the Kings Household for the expedition and the usual preparations were set in train, regarding provisioning for the army and shipping for transport.

The expeditionary force arrived in Waterford in June. It would appear that the army was somewhat smaller than the one that had come in 1394, but it was exceptionally well equipped. The King's privy wardrobe came with the King to Ireland and there are details of some of the stores left behind in Dublin castle, following his departure to England - 141 coats of mail, vast quantities of bows and arrows, a barrel of bowstrings, 353 lances, 32 canons, 6 barrels of stones for the cannons, and a barrel of gunpowder.

He was joined by the Viceroy, Surrey who was detailed to make an attack on the country of the Kavanaghs, while the main army moved



Meeting of Art McMurrough and the Earl of Gloucester

to Kilkenny. In the skirmish with the Kavanaghs Surrey claimed to have killed 157 'armed men and kerns', but didn't mention any of his own losses. This gave the King great encouragement and he foolishly decided to bring his army through Ui Cinnsealaigh en route to Dublin. The huge straggling army was constantly harassed by Art, the McMurrough with the help of the allies, the O'Nolans, Ryans, Murphys, and O'Byrnes and its supplies were cut off. When the starving army eventually reached the coast, somewhere around Arklow, and three ships arrived from Dublin with supplies, even the knights jumped into the sea in a frenzy to get food.

The McMurrough offered to negotiate and an English historian, Creton, who had accompanied the expedition described the famous meeting between Art and the Duke of Gloucester. "I saw McMurrough and a body of Irish more than I can remember, descend the mountain. He rode a horse without saddle, which was so fine and good that it cost him, they said, four hundred cows. In coming down it galloped so hard that, I, for certain, never saw hare, deer or sheep run with such speed. In his right hand he carried a great long lance, which he cast with much skill. He was a fine large man, wonderfully active. To look at he seemed very stern and savage and an able man'.

No agreement was reached between the parties to the talks and Richard's army continued on to Dublin, to prepare for a fresh offensive against the Ui Cinnsealaigh. It would appear that he got news in Dublin of the revolt of Bolingbroke and he decided to hasten back to England. He set out once more for Waterford but avoided Ui Cinnsealaigh and he immediately sailed to England where he lost his throne and his life.

In Ui Cinnsealaigh, Art began to consolidate his position and allied himself with the O'Briens of Desmond in an effort to counteract the activities of the FizGerald and Ormond factions.

The Irish council were in almost immediate contact with the new Government in England and painted a most depressing picture of the state of affairs in Ireland: The McMurrough was still at open war, now allied to the O'Briens, and O'Neill of Ulster was on the march...military affairs were most precarious as the English army had been disbanded and there was no money.....the Irish enemies were so strong and arrogant and of great power, that none could resist them...and the English marchers were unable and unwilling to ride against them.

In his book, "Ireland in the Middle Ages', James Lydon makes the point that when the Lancastrian faction came to power in England

they were in a poor financial state and succeeding Lancastrian kings were equally cash strapped. Richard II had proved that only a huge military operation could succeed in settling Irish affairs but no cash was available for this purpose during the 15th century and Ireland was left to the great Anglo Norman magnates and the native Irish kings. Both sets of hostile parties, began to accomodate each other in the course of time and a mutual respect for each others laws and customs began to grow, with the great Anglo Norman lords such as the Fitzgeralds adopting the Brehon law, fostering and using the Irish mode of dress and using the Irish language, despite the Statutes of 1366.

In the immediate infant days of the Lancastrian administration, nothing was done to control the expansionist policies of the gaelic Kings. We find an acceptance of the status quo in the matter of the petition from the townsmen of Ross requesting royal permission to trade with the Irish. In 1403, Henry IV sent the following communication to the townsmen: 'The King on petition, grants to the Sovereign and Commnity of the town of Ross, as their town is situated on the marches and on all sides encompassed by Irish enemies, so that they have no other means of living, but in the buying from and selling to the aforesaid enemies, victuals and other small necessary articles, to prevent their malice and ill will, that they (i.e. the Sovereign etc.) shall have liberty to treat with the said enemies and sell them all manner of victual etc., as well in time of peace as in war; moreover they are permitted to pay the annual sum of 10 marks agreed upon for their defence to Arthur Kavanagh, the McMurrough, captain of his nation.

In the same year, the bishop of Ferns, Bishop Barrett, with the approval of the Pope, transferred the Episcopal chair of Ferns to Ross and repaired the Church of St. Mary so as to make it worthy of a Cathedral town.

In his Ecclesiastical and Municipal annals of Ferns, Hore gives a brief account of the life of Bishop Barret. Formerly an Augustinian he was restored to the temporals and consecrated bishop in Rome in 1400. He had authority from the King in 1403 to treat with the English and Irish enemies in the district of Ui Cinnsealaigh for the purpose of reforming them to peace. Having moved the See of Ferns to Ross the bishop built for his residence Mountgarret castle adjacent to the town. Because of his accomplishment and learning he was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1410. He moved to Dublin to carry out the duties of his office and in his absence fresh wars broke out and he was ordered to return and take up residence at Mountgarret. He died in 1415 and was buried at Kells in Ossory in

the grounds of the monastery of which he had been abbot.

It would appear from all accounts that the Bishop was well acquainted with Art, the McMurrough, and was able, by his presence in the county of Wexford, to maintain some kind of uneasy peace. However this was not always the case as we find that in 1406 Art attacked the enclave of Forth and Bargy, carrying fire and sword to its furthest parts. This punitive expedition may well have arisen because of non payment of Black Rent. In any event the Commons of Wexford by general agreement conceded 80 marks yearly as the sum to be paid henceforth. In 1408 Art again attacked the southern baronies and the Book of Howth records that he burned and destroyed a great part of them, but was unable to capture the castle of Ballyteigue. Following this attack, the government appointed John Neville of Rosegarland to draw up plans for the fortification of Forth and Bargy, which were not completed until the middle of the century. The area was then effectively sealed off by joining Bannow Bay across to the Slaney with a system of waterworks which were called pills and strong forts built at intervals along the line. This work cut off the inhabitants of the two baronies from the rest of Ireland and contributed to the development of the hybrid language called Yola, mentioned earlier in this work. The siege mentality thus engendered in the populace lasted right up to this century with people in modern times being reluctant to 'cross over the water'.

Again in 1409 the Irish were on the rampage and Thomas Butler one of the King's chief officers in Ireland, of the house of Ormonde, was killed in a skirmish near Carlow. In a writ dated June 11 the King (Henry IV) directed the Seneschal of the Liberty of Wexford, the Sovereighns of Ross and Wexford and Robert Sutton, Nicholas Browne, Thomas Synott and Fulke Furlong assigning them to inquire how much in arrears the Black Rent was to Arthur Kavanagh, the McMurrough.

The fact that there is no mention in the State papers of the time about any affrays in Ui Cinnsealaigh seems to imply that the district was at peace until the arrival in 1414 of John Talbot an heir of Strongbow through his granddaughter Joane, Countess of Pembroke and Lady of Wexford. The distant replationship between Art and the Deputy did not prevent the latter from attacking the Kavanaghs and O'Byrnes and thier followers, who were forced to sue for peace. It would appear that Art's eldest son, also called Art, was killed during this campaign. One of the conditions of the peace was that Hamon Cheevers, whose father had bought 2000 acres from Talbot, in the area known as the Leverock (Leath Bharraice) and which encompassed what is now known as Ryland, Clohamon,

Kilmyshall, and Bunclody, was to be allowed to take peacable possession of his lands. He built a castle in what is now Clohamon, in Irish, Cloch (Castle) of Hamon. The district he acquired became known as Fearannhamon. He may well have been given further parcels of land in the places now called Ballamon, and Borris (Hamon) in the nearby parish of Kilrush. In addition to building a castle on the Slaney, a small town including a castle and mill was built at Borris. The town was called Graigue Mor. The remains of the gateway to this castle of Borris can still be seen to this day. The Cheevers family did not long remain in possession of these places and they soon reverted to the Kavanaghs.

Shortly afterwards, in 1417, Art was poisoned at Ross, along with his chief Brehon, O'Doran. His third son Dermot Lamhdearg also died in this year and Art was succeeded by his second son Donough or Donal More McAirt, King of Leinster and founder of the Carlow septs.

As a fitting conclusion to the chapter, J.W. D'Arcy McGee's account of the great man's death is worth reproducing because of its romantic and colourful character.

'Merry were the Christmas days in the vales of Ross Mac Triuin. The long nights fled like shadows before the nightly rising sun of hospitality. Bards from far and near had come to sit by the KIng's hearth and sing at his board during the festival, for as true steel attracts the fire of heaven, so true heroism ever attracts the true poet.....There are fat beeves from the lowlands of Contae Riabhach (the swarthy or tawny county, ancient designation of the County Wexford), sheep from the hills of Ceatharloch, honey from the Barrow side, and cheese, ale, and usquebaugh, the makings of the place. And there too, are bright foreign wines and fruits, for if Henry has his King's merchant at Wexford, shall not Art have his merchant at Ross? Many and emboldening were the recollections recalled of the past. Many and sanguine the hopes formed of the future! The second morning of the New Year came. Consternation was on every face in and about the royal residence. O'Doran, the chief Brehon of Leinster, the mirror of justice and the fountain of wisdom, has been found dead. But a deeper shade comes on every face, and a more fearful hush stills every voice - the King, too, Art the McMurrough himself, has also died on the same day and nearly at the same hour. This strange coincidence caused in many minds the opinion that the King and the Chief Brehon had been poisoned, and that some artful emissary of the English was at the bottom of the conspiracy, which thus, at one blow, deprived Leinster of the oracle and the executor of her laws, of her lamp of equity and her shield of defence'.

# Chapter 6

# A Century Of Relative Calm

S IN Ireland as a whole, the 15th century was less turbulent in Ui Cinnsealaigh than the 14th, and the ground won back by the Gaels was held by the Gaels and in some instances expanded. The power of the English administrators was at a very low ebb and the wars of the Roses towards the end of the century certainly insured that English interest in the colony was minimal. That is not to say that the whole of the period was untroubled, but it was certainly a calmer ocean that the McMurroughs had to voyage on, than that of their predecessors. In the 15th century only one McMurrough met a violent end, whereas in the previous 200 years at least seven of the leading Kavanaghs died violently. In addition the lands of Ui Cinnsealaigh were devastated on numerous occasions in the 14th century and hardly at all in the 15th.

In the 13th century the ties of blood between the Kavanaghs and the Marshalls ensured that the clan as such and their allies would not present any serious threat to the stability of the region. The payment of Black Rent to the clan was also an inducement to the Gaels to refrain from disturbing the status quo. But the passage of time weakens the bonds of blood, so the Kavanaghs of the 14th century refused to recognise the claims of the Marshall descendants except at the edge of the sword, and the Irish clans of Kavanaghs, Murphys, Keoghs, Dorans, Ryans, Nolans, Kinsellas and Bolgers swallowed up the descendants of the original invaders and took over their forts and castles, except for the towns and the Pale of Wexford whose citizens paid the Black Rents.

It was during the 15th century that the church lands, which had been bestowed on the monasteries in ancient times, came back into the possession of the clans and so the lands of the Abbey of Downe near Clonegal and the Abbey lands of Ferns, together with the lands of the Abbeys of St. Mullins and Graiguenamanagh as well as the castle lands of Ferns, Old Ross, Enniscorthy, Clohamon, Rathnageeragh, Ballyloughan and Borris in Kilrush, came into the

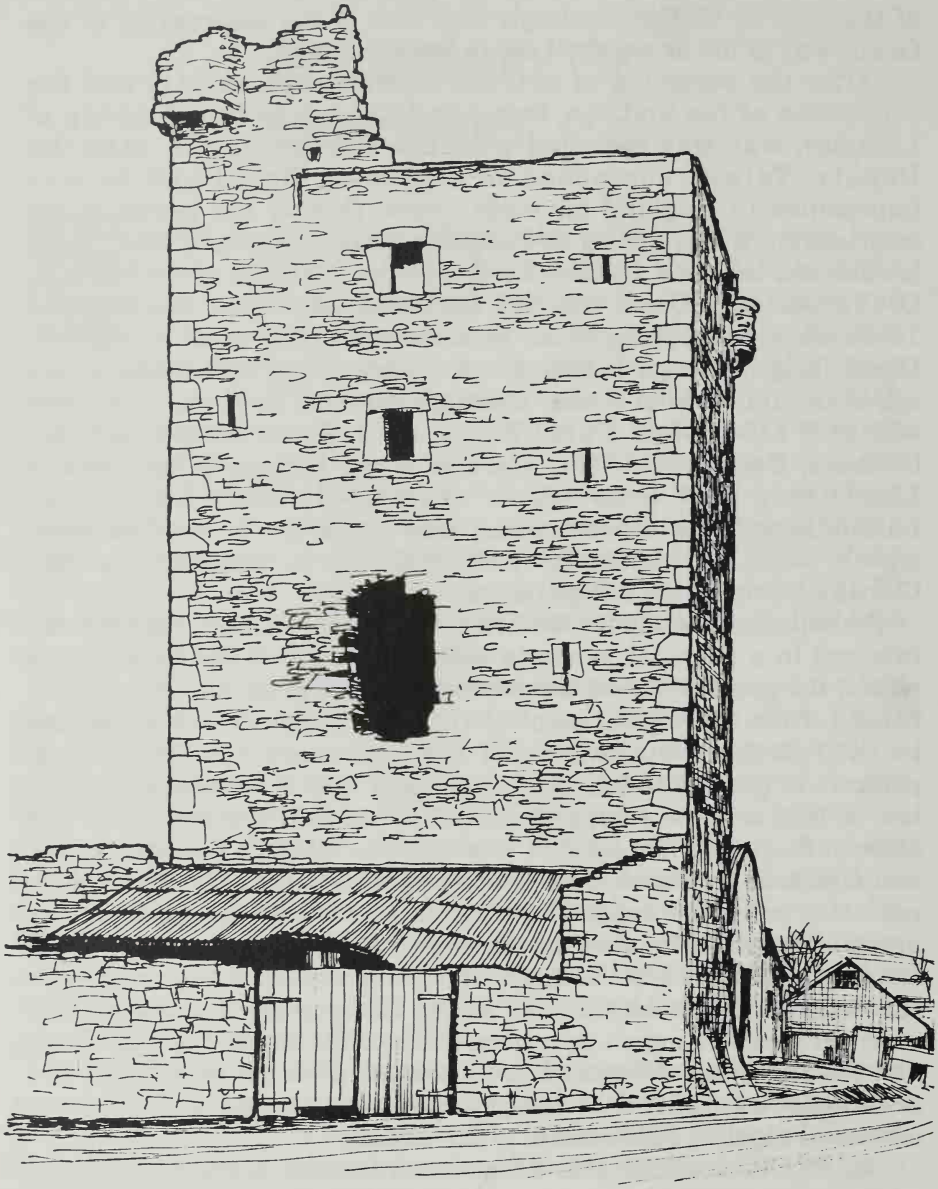
possession of the Kavanaghs.

These lands subsequently proved to be the key to the destruction of the clan in Ui Cinnsealaigh and with it the destruction of the Gaelic way of life as we shall see in later chapters.

After the poisoning of Art, the McMurrough, in 1417 and the succession of his 2nd son Donal or Donough to the Kingship of Leinster, war was resumed with the English and in 1419 the Deputy, Talbot, succeeded in capturing Donal and he was imprisoned in England for eight years. During the period of his imprisonment the duties of Kingship were performed by Donal's brother the tanaiste, Gerald, Lord of Ferns. After his arrival back in Ui Cinnsealaigh, Donal resumed the leadership of the clan until the 1450s when, upon going blind, he abdicated in favour of his nephew, Donal Reagh, (Reagh meaning red complexioned and freckled) the son of Gerald, Lord of Ferns. Donough survived until the 1470s and was still alive when Donal Reagh died. Donal Reagh had two brothers; Dermot (d 1443), who had a son Dermot called Dermot Lamhdearg and from whom descended Slioct Dhiarmada Laimhdhearg; the other brother was Art More of the Leverock, which was, as already referred to, a district in the Clohamon/Bunclody/Clonegal area.

Perhaps fortunately for the Irish, Talbot, the Deputy, was heavily involved in a personal vendetta with the Ormonde family and as a result, the government of the country was not given the attention it needed (from an English point of view). Writing a report on Ireland in 1427 Archbishop Swayne of Armagh painted a 'depressing' picture: 'in good faith the English ground that is obeying the king's law in this land, as I suppose, is not so much of quantity as is one shire of England'. His opinion was that the struggle between Talbot and Ormonde was so diverse that 'the gentlemen and commons love not other and this debate betwyx these two lords is cause of the great harms that be done in the country'. The 'great harms' being the leeway afforded to the Irish to regroup and in many cases evict the tenants of the Anglo Irish lords. The reports and complaints received by the English government from the towns such as Ross, and the Pale area of Wexford, are a testament to the beleagured and isolationist mentality that was growing and festering because of the continual niggling harassment of the citizens.

In Ui Cinnsealaigh this desperation became concretely evident when in 1446 Officers were appointed for the protection of the water of Taghmon. This effectively brought to a conclusion the works commenced in 1408 when John Neville of Rosegarland was



Castle of Taghmon

commissioned to draw up plans for the defence of the Pale which entailed the works on the waterways of Taghmon and the building of castles. The plans may have been shelved for a time, but they were revived by an Act of Parliament during the reign of Henry VI, in 1441 when James Butler the Earl of Ormonde was Deputy. 'Conceding that for the erection of certain towers or castles upon the River called the water of Taghmon, and for the damming up or obstructing the said water for the expulsion of our enemies, at the cost of £300, all the issues or profits for service, escheats, forfeitures, reliefs, wardships, marriages etc., together with all other our rents coming from the said Liberty and the Cross (church lands), shall be used and expended for the building and care of the said towers and obstruction of the waters, by such commissioners as may be appointed by Patrick, Bishop of the Cathedral Church of Ferns'.

The commissioners appointed were: John Devereux, treasurer, and Nic Keating, Canon of the same Church, Matthew Devereux of the parish of Tacumshane in Fethard, Thomas Neville of the parish of Ambrosetown in Bargy, and George Stafford of the town of Wexford.

That there must have been sporadic raiding of the Pale is obvious from the measures taken by the palesmen, who built fifteen towers on the waterway, but on the whole there does not appear to have been any very serious confrontation between the antagonists.

As already mentioned the domestic troubles in England were partly responsible for the relative calm in Ireland and in Ui Cinnsealaigh, but another and more effective means of keeping the peace in Ireland was the rise to power of the Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare, who through intermarriage with the great Gaelic families such as the Kavanaghs, Byrnes, O'Connors of Offaly and the Carrolls of Ely, and with the Anglo Irish familes of Butler (Ormondes) and Flemings of Slane, brought about a long period of stability towards the end of the century and into the early part of the 16th century. The Earl even managed to collect some form of protection money from the Gaelic Kings, but in return he gave them valuable presents and administered English law when it suited them to have it.

The Kavanaghs and the O"Byrnes were closely connected by marriage and Gerald, Lord of Ferns married in 1421, by dispensation his second cousin Sadbh O'Byrne, by whom he already had children. His sons Donal Reagh, Dermot and Art More have been alluded to earlier and he does not appear to have had any daughters. He died in 1430. They were also connected to the Nolans

The Great Seal of Donough Kavanagh

and to the Ormondes as Sadbh a daughter of Donal Reagh was married to an O'Nolan and then to James FitzEdmond Butler when she was widowed upon the death of O'Nolan. This lady who died in 1508 was the mother of Piers Roe the 8th Earl of Ormonde. In the early part of the 15th century they contracted marriage alliances with the FitzGeralds of Kildare and this in turn gave them a kinship with the O'Neills of Tyrone as one of the Earl's daughters was married to Conn O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone.

As stated previously Donal or Donough as he was called in some pedigrees, ruled as McMurrough until 1450 when blindness forced him to abdicate in favour of his nephew Donal Reagh. Donal Reagh became King of Leinster, but the title of McMurrough was retained by Donough until his death in 1476 and Donal Reagh had predeceased him in 1475. Donal Reagh was succeeded as King of Leinster by Murrough Ballagh, grandson of Donough, who in turn was succeeded by Art Bui son of Donal Reagh.

The great seal of Donal the McMurrough, which must have been captured with donough in 1419 eventually found its way to the British Museum and is described in the Museum Catalogue XXXIV pg 47 as follows:

'17335 15th century, Donat McMurchada, King of Leinster. Red Wax or composition from the matrix 2 5/8 inches within a quatrefoil panel, ornamented along the inner edge with small quatrefoils and with trefoiled spandrils, each charged with a small cinquefoil, a shield of arms (Field replenished with sprigs) : in chief a lion passant; in base two cresents. Supported on either side by a lion rampant, reguardant, tail coward. Upheld above and below by a demi angel winged and draped.

Sigillum Donati Mac Muracha da regis Lageie'

During the reign of Donough there must have been some kind of economic crisis in the area as John Furlong, Sheriff of the Cross, meaning the sheriff of the church lands, complained to the Seneschal of the county that there were 'numbers of idle persons without any means of support, bards and rhymers, wandering about the country between Ferns and Enniscorthy, camping out in the woods in summer and in the harvest time when the male population were busy in the fields, visiting the houses in small parties of six to a dozen, demanding alms, food and drink under the veiled threats of mischief in case of refusal, terrifying females and committing robberies and violence on many occasions, while those who suffered were afraid to appear against them in case of reprisal'.

Again in 1453 the palesmen, ever conscious of their defence, had a

law enacted making it an offence to use the waters of Taghmon for any purpose other than for the protection of the enclae. It would appear from this that the odd crofter was availing of the abundant water supply to irrigate his holding, against the common good.

Sometime at the start of the McMurroughship of Donal Reagh the castles of North Wexford were taken over by the Kavanaghs, including Clohamon and Borrishamon lately built by Hamon Cheevers, and Enniscorthy. At the height of his power in the early 1460s Donal Reagh founded a Franciscan Friary for Friars Minor of the Strict Observantines in Enniscorthy, in the castle of which he dwelt for a time. The present Abbey Square and in particular the Bank of Ireland premises occupy the site of the Abbey grounds and monastery. When he died in 1476, Donal Reagh was buried in the Abbey. He left at least six sons, namely, Art Bui, Brian Ballach, Cahir, Gerald, Maurice and Murrough.

It was during this heyday of Irish supremacy that honours were conferred on the families of the great Irish kings and so in 1467, Sadbh Kavanagh who had married as her second husband James FitzEdmond Butler, was granted a charter of English liberty. This may well have been initiated by the Butlers to overcome the statute, still in place, forbidding the marriage of Anglo Irish and mere Irish. In any event what was important from the Kavanagh point of view, was that, because of the marriage the clan would enjoy a certain amount of imunity where prosecutions might be brought for rebellious acts. This proved to be the case as the Earls of Ormonde became very powerful in the Tudor courts of the 16th century. It was probably out of this alliance that the Kavanagh - FitzGerald connection grew, since the FitzGeralds were intermarried with the Ormondes (the Earl's daughter Margaret was married to Sir Piers Butler).

There appears to have been some unrest in the area following the accession of Murrough Ballach, a grandson of Donough the Blind and in 1481, three years afterwards, Cahir, the 4th son of Donal Reagh was killed by the English of the county,or the palesmen, in some encounter on or near the famous waterway of Taghmon. This seems to have galvanised the clan into some kind of methodical persecution of the English of the Pale of Wexford and the towns as we find in 1484 that, letters patent were issued by the English Government, 'commanding and enjoining the mayor of Waterford, the Sovereign of Kilkenny, the Seneschal of Wexford and all the liege subjects to aid and assist the Corporal Body of Ross in the defence and protection of the town and the inhabitants against English

rebels and Irish enemies.....to make reprisals and to retain the same until restitution was made for the robberies and spoils.....and no person of Irish apparel or condition to be admitted to reside in the town'.

Again in 1486 a charter was issued by King Richard III and the text of the charter is illuminating in that it reflects the serious situation facing the English towns at this time. The charter states 'Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom the present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that by the death of divers merchants of our town of Rosse, certain of them having been murdered and slain as well by land as by sea, it is so impoverished, as no law, justice or good government exist in any part about the said town, but rebellion, extorsion, murder, killing and robbery and full war are made by our Irish enemies upon the same town, so that the same merchants of the same town can scarcely guard it, or repair and sustain the walls and port without our great relief by us in that behalf procured;'.

The continuing infighting between the Earl of Kildare and the English Crown which continued intermittently until the end of the century, coupled with the threats against the King posed by the pretenders, Lambert Simmel and Perkin Warbeck during this period, both supported to some degree by the Earl, contributed in no small degree to the continuing supremacy of the McMurrough. The power of the Earl was accepted in all parts of Ireland but it is noteworthy that in 1496, when the Earl was reinstated as Lord Deputy, the King's agent reported that while most of the Gaelic lords had submitted, the McMurrough had not.

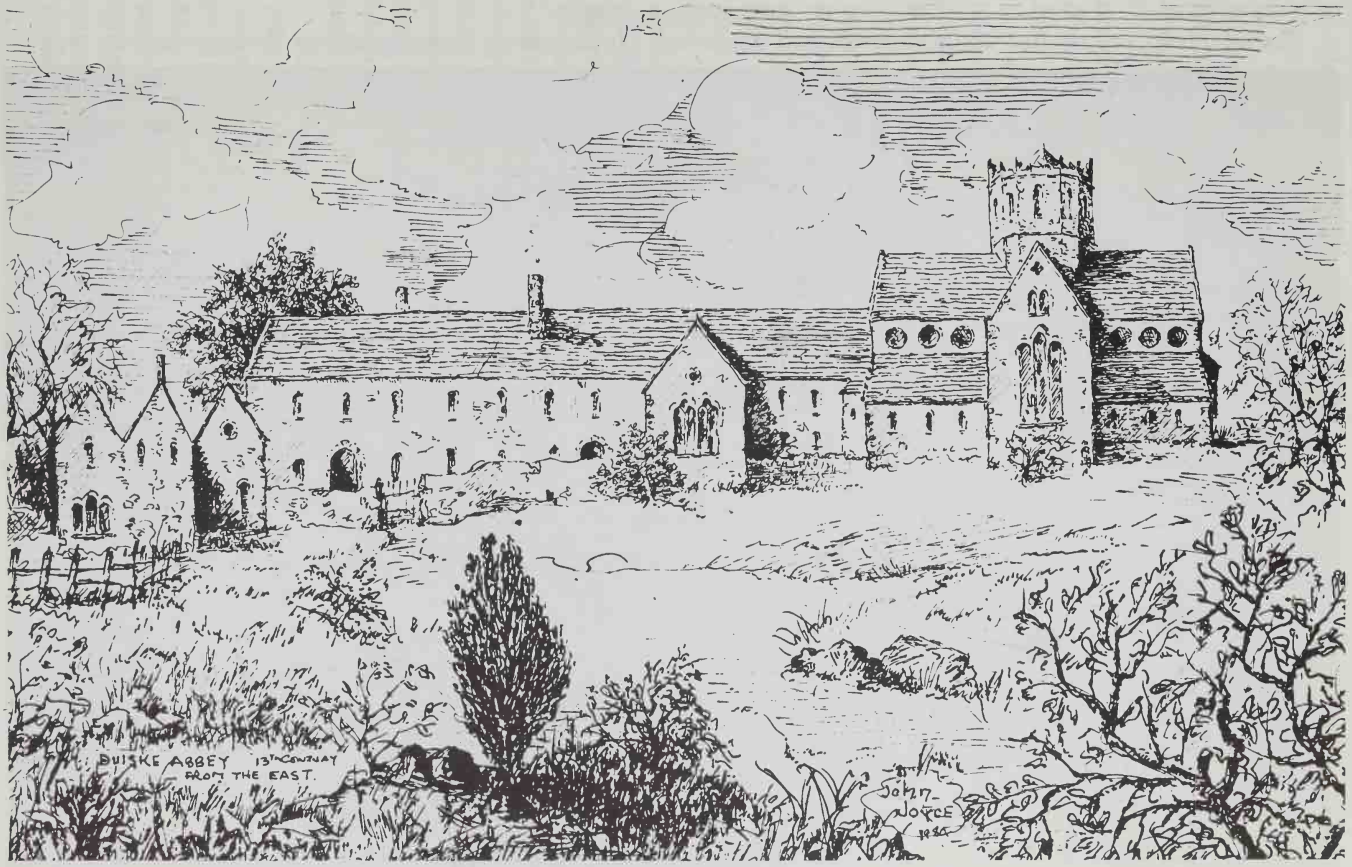
Without having any definite evidence, it would be safe to assume that it was during the decade after this appointment that the Deputy succeeded in wooing the Kavanaghs and the tribes of Ui Cinnsealaigh into accepting his rule and paying the rent demanded, namely 'one groat upon every cow that grazed on certain lands' and in return he granted them protection as mentioned above.

In addition The Earl gave the leading men of the Kavanagh valuable presents of war horses every year, for example in 1514, Art Bui, the McMurrough was given a bay horse and his wife a grey hackney. Muiris, a brother of Art Bui got a grey and Murtagh, Art's son got a black. Again in 1517 it is recorded that apart from the presents given to the family of Art Bui, a valuable horse was given to Art McDermot Layard (an eponynm that may have been a corruption of Liath Ard - grey and tall) who was a son of Dermot Lamhdearg, a cousin of Art Bui.

The Kavanagh / FitzGerald connection seems to have commenced sometime in the latter part of the 15th century and a man who became the McMurrough in 1531 called Cahire McInnycross was born an illegitimate son of the Earl by one of Donal Reagh's daughters. The eponynm McInnycross is a corruption of the Gaelic, Mac na hInione Crosta, or son of the cross daughter. In any event Cahir was raised in the FitzGerald household and in the struggle for the Kingship he was supported by the Earl. Another Kavanagh, Cahir, the son of Art McDermot Layard, who later became the McMurrough in 1547 was married to Alicia, a daughter of the Earl in the early 1500s. Alicia was a sister of the Silken Lord, Thomas Fitzgerald, who rebelled in 1536 and lost his life.

The early part of the succeeding century, the 16th, was a time of continuing expansion for the clan Kavanagh, and we find that in 1514 Cahir or Charles Kavanagh the 3rd son of Murrough Ballagh who was the last Abbot of Duiske Abbey in Graiguenamanagh was deputed to govern the Diocese of Leighlin in the absence of Bishop Halsay and in 1523 the lands of the Abbey which were extensive were let to Cahir for 61 years. The Bishop of Leighlin who had succeeded Bishop Halsay was Maurice Doran, one of the Brehon family, and he appears to have objected. His archdeacon was Murrough Kavanagh the eldest son of Cahir the Abbot, and some kind of acrimonious debate arose between the two. This resulted in a threat by the Bishop to have Murrough corrected by the ecclesiastic authorites for 'insolent obstinacy and other misconduct'. Sometime after this while on a journey the two became involved in a very heated quarrel which resulted in the killing of the Bishop by Murrough. The Earl of Kildare was asked to take the matter in hand and Murrough the Murderer as he was dubbed, was hanged at the spot where he had killed the Bishop. Needless to say, the lands remained in the possession of the Kavanaghs.

During this period the amounts of and extent of the lands controlled by the various leading men of the Kavanaghs began to be recorded by the English authorities. Art Bui who was elected the McMurrough and King of Leinster in 1511 after the death of Murrough Ballagh, resided mainly in Enniscorthy castle and was the titular owner of vast areas of land. The lands recorded as being in his control extended to twenty mart lands i.e. 20 x 360 acres, (7200 acres), 4 in Kilhobuck, 8 in Coolnaleen, 4 in Killinerle on the Blackstairs, and 4 in the Rower in Co. Kilkenny. These lands would have been for his personal use as the McMurrough but he ruled over the whole of Ui Cinnsealaigh which included Edmond Duffs




Drawing of Duiske Abbey, courtesy John Joyce

The National Bank, Abbey Square, Enniscorthy, site of the Franciscan Abbey, where Art Bui, King of Leinster is buried

Kinseallaghs in and around where Gorey is now the nucleus, the McVadocks which was the area centred on modern Askamore - Carnew, the Doyles which included the whole hinterland of Arklow, the MacDamores which is the area from Courtown dowon to Blackwater, the O'Morchoes - a huge area along the N.E. bank of the Slaney with Oulart as its focal point, the lands occupied by the Dorans and those occupied by the Keoghs and the Duffry controlled by the Briens. In Carlow his writ extended throughout the county and he had nominal rule over the areas of Garryhill occupied by the descendants of Murrough Ballagh, Myshall occupied by the Nolans, Idrone occupied by the Ryans and the St. Mullins area occupied by the descendants of Dermot Lamhdearg Kavanagh, Farrenoneile, occupied by the O'Neills, and all the lands controlled by the other members of the Kavanagh clan including the lands around Ferns, Kilrush parish, and modern Bunclody.

Dermot Lamhdearg a cousin of Art Bui got for his personal use 12 mart lands which included 8 in Carlow including part of Farrennamanagh - lands belonging to the abbey of Graignamanagh and some in Ballyann, and 4 in Farrenhamon which was situated between Kilmyshall and Rathnure. Art More an uncle of Art Bui was in possession of 20 mart lands also, 12 in St. Mullins and 8 in the Leverock including Fearranoneile. This man was described as 'ferox rebellis' and was the leader of the warlike raiders in the mid 1400s. It was said of him that all Leinster was unable to resist his power but he was eventually subdued by the Earl of Ormonde. This of course may have occured when his niece married Butler in the later part of the century. The abstract also assigned to him the manor of Clohamon and the rest of Farrenhamon, which got its name as already mentioned from Hamond Cheevers who had purchased the lands from the Talbots in the early part of the 15th century. The implication of all the above being that Cheevers, although supported by the powerful Talbots was ousted from his holdings by Art More.

Art Bui, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, died in 1517 and was buried in the Franciscan Friary in Enniscorthy and was succeeded in office by his brother Gerald, Lord of Ferns, who was married to Catherine Butler. His succession was disputed by Murtahg Og Kavanagh of Garryhill, who was described in the State papers as the 'best of the McMurroughs' and in the annals of Duiske as 'princeps Langeniae' or prince of the Leinstermen. Gerald only survived 6 years as the McMurrough and King of Leinster. The descendants of Art Bui lived in the castle of Enniscorthy until 1547

and were then forced to remove to Clonmullen near modern day Bunclody. Concerning the sept of Art Bui, Nicholls says that of all the Kavanagh septs, this one seems to have given the greatest degree of trouble to the Elizabethan administration.

At some time in the same year that Maurice succeeded as King of Leinster and the McMurrough, in or about 1523, certain clan lands were transferred into the ownership of James the 8th Earl of Ormonde who was a nephew of Maurice. These lands included lands in the Rower in Kilkenny and the lands around and including the town of Arklow. The sons of Brian Kavanagh (who seems to have died young as he never succeeded to the ittle of McMurrough nor was he mentioned in the transfer documents), were parties to the agreement mentioned. The descendants of Brian were said to have been relocated at Killcollatrim in Co. Carlow. Other parties to the agreement were the sons of Cahir Kavanagh, who was killed in 1481, a brother of Brian mentioned above. They were the 'owners' of the Rower lands, which were included in the transfer.

# Chapter 7

# The Tudor Plan To Conquer Ui Cinnsealaigh

HE PROLIFERATION of the Kavanaghs was probably their undoing because the different septs became power hungry and preyed on each other. Obtaining the title of McMurrough meant obtaining power and prestige, not alone for the recipient himself but also for his immediate relatives and his descendants. Gerald the McMurrough died in 1523 and was buried in Leighlin. The Garryhill line of the Kavanaghs in the person of Muriertagh Og tried unsuccessfully for the title but Gerald's brother Maurice succeeded him as McMurrough. Maurice died in 1531 and the succession to the title was again disputed. Cahir McInnycross was only a half brother to Gerald and Maurice, and the descendants of Gerald Lord of Ferns who died in 1430 through the line of Dermot his eldest son who died in 1443 contended for the title in the person of Dulaing the son of Dermot Lamhdearg. Although Dulaing was the uncle of the son in law of the Earl of Kildare, the Earl gave his support to Cahir McInnycross (also known as Cahir Mac Gearailt according to Hore) and Dulaing canvassed support from the Deputy, Skeffington, promising to make 340 gallowglasses available yearly to the King. It would appear that some skirmishes were fought between the vying parties but in the end Cahir McInnycross was victorious. Two sons of Maurice the predecessor of Cahir McInnycross were killed in 1531, having sided with their half uncle. They were Dermot McMuiris of Coolnaleen and Donough Onetty, whose descendants lived at Kilmichael, Gorey. The descendants of Dermot lived in Clanhanrick, between Ballycarney and Ferns. There will be further notices of these people in the chapter about the septs of the Kavanaghs.

It was during Cahir's tenure of office that the whole Gaelic system of Government came under sustained attack and Cahir was effectively the last Kavanagh to be recognised as King of Leinster by the English.

There was some unrest in Ui Cinnsealaigh in 1532 and it was noted that Cahir McArt, who was a young up and coming blade and

a third cousin of Cahir McInnycross, the McMurrough, had joined forces with the Bishop of Ferns, Bishop Purcell, and both had raided the tenants of the Bishop in Fethard. The authorities were outraged, that the Bishop himself had taken part in the affray, Cahir McArt was married to a sister of Silken Thomas and seems to have been rash and headstrong. In 1526 he had attacked and burnt Drumphea castle the home of Cahir McMuiriertagh Og Kavanagh and his mother Maeve. Both they, and other persons not named perished in the flames. It is not known why this attack took place, but it is significant that just three years earlier Muiriertagh Og had contended for the titles of McMurrough and King of Leinster. The Garryhill Kavanaghs were descended from blind Donough the 2nd son of the famous Art who was poisoned at Ross, while the Polmonty Kavanaghs were descended from Gerald, Lord of Ferns, who died in 1530. Both sets of Kavanaghs were distantly related but were at enmity over the titles. It is probably too that Cahir McArt having an eye to the future, did his utmost to weaken the Garryhill Kavanaghs. The two septs had a real set to later in the century when in contention for the McMurrough title.

Cahir was not the only Kavanagh to behave rashly, for the following year, Crimthinn, who was a son of Gerald who had been McMurrough, in the 1520s, was killed by his brother Art Bui, not to be confused with his uncle Art Bui the King of Leinster who had died in 1518. It is not known what the row was about but as a consequence Art Bui seems to have been passed over as a leader and his younger brother, Murrough, was a Captain of his sept, in 1540. Another rash young man was Cahir Carragh, a grandson of Art Bui of Enniscorthy. It was noted that he, together with Edward Synott and David Keating went to Wexford town and abducted Margaret Kinney. Presumably this was an early example of the abduction of heiresses which seem to have been a feature of the 16th and 17th centuries.

The next year saw a fierce upheaval which signalled the start of the campaign by the Tudors to conquer Ireland. This period of unrest began with the revolution of Silken Thomas following the removal of his father from the office of Deputy and his subsequent imprisonment in the Tower of London. The Kavanaghs supported Thomas and in a skirmish Cahir McArt was captured and gaoled in Dublin Castle. He was assisted in escaping and it was said the Lord Deputy himself was one of those who facilitated the escape. At a later time this charge was levelled at Lord Grey but was successfully refuted. When Cahir arrived back in Ui Cinnsealaigh he

immediately mobilised the Kavanaghs, with the wholehearted approval of the McMurrough, and they went in force to attack the establishment where it was most vulnerable, in Forth and Bargy. They launched massive attacks on the castles of Sir Nicholas Devereux and the Brownes at Ballymagir and Mulrankin respectively. The attack on Ballymagir occured on August 3 and involved 1000 men under the joint leadership of Cahir McInnycross, the McMurrough, Edmond Duff of the Kinselaghs, Cahir Mor McPiers (Bermingham) and Gerlad Boy Prendergast. According to Roche in his article on Forth and Bargy in the book of Wexford, they burned Ballymagir and killed and wounded many of the defenders, taking booty worth £800. The raid on Mulrankin was carrried out later by the Butlers and Kavanaghs under the leadership of Cahir McArt. Again the following year the same combination of raiders attacked Mulrankin and on their way homward the gallowglasses of the Butlers burned Bannow. The Polmonty Kavanaghs under Cahir McArt had occupied the castle of Old Ross which had been built by Bishop Barrett in the early part of the 14th century, and they over ran the fassagh of Bantry. They were attacked by James the Earl of Ormonde, a distant cousin of Cahir McArt and he succeeded in capturing the castle and in persuading the Englishry of the Shire in 'annoying the said King's enemies'.

Like many English monarchs before him, Henry VIII was strapped for cash, not alone because of his lavish lifestyle and the splendour of his court, but the costly litigation involved in trying to obtain a divorce, and his preoccupation with building a worthwhile navy. Secure at home, he looked to Ireland as a possible source of revenue. In the early years of his reign, he commissioned Baron Finglas to enquire how the country had come to such a sorry state and to make recommendations on how to subdue it at little cost. In writing on the subject in his dissertation called 'The Decay of Ireland', Finglas stated at the outset that 'the reformation of Leinster is the key to the reformation of the rest of the country. It lies at an angle between Waterford and Dublin and is inhabited by no mere Irishmen, but the Kavanaghs of whom McMurrough is the captain, and the Byrnes and Tooles, and the ordinary inhabitants who be but naked men (unarmed) as Kerne, which were not in these hundred years more feeble to be conquered'. He then went on to suggest that the border monasteries should be inhabited by Englishmen or Irishmen loyal to the crown. This would have the result of safeguarding them for the government and making revenue for the King.

Mulrankin Castle, home of the Browne family

However the military power of the clan seems to have improved dramatically because in 1536 the Deputy and Council wrote to the King to acquaint him with the situation in Leinster, stating as follows: ' the rebellious tribes of Kavanaghs, O'Birnes, and O'Tooles in the north of the county, in Carlow, and the mountain fastnesses of Wicklow, bred to arms, inured to hardships, delighting in forays and taking of 'preys', didaining agriculture, content with a pastoral existence and nomadic life, are a continual source of danger and dismay to the English settlers, and have become so bold and threatening, owing to the Civil War in England, that the best part of Leinster is under their dominion. It would almost seem as if the whole country has to be reconquered and settled upon som firm basis of peace and security'. In addition it was stated to the Commissio which sat in 1537 that the McMurrough's forces when combined with the O'Byrnes and Tooles amounted to 300 horsemen or well born cavaliers, declared not to be surpassed for hardiness in Ireland, and between 600 and 700 kern or lightly armed foot soldiers.

Accordingly, in 1536 the Deputy Lord Grey was instructed by the Council, on orders from the King, to commence the subjugation of Leinster and with this in mind he raised an army and marched into Ui Cinnsealaigh. He captured Ferns' castle without too much difficulty by having the castle gunner shot by a sniper. Cahir McInnycross, the McMurrough, agreed to meet Grey who made demands that were unacceptable to Cahir. Grey was a brother in law of the Earl of Kildare and would have been very familiar with Cahir. Some business seems to have been transacted. Cahir was given custody of Ferns castle and indentures were drawn up which were witnessed by Murtagh Mac Art Bui (Murtagh the son of Art Bui the McMurrough who had died in 1518), the tanaiste, and his son Cahir Carragh, who had been involved in the abduction of Margaret Kinney. According to the Carew manuscripts there were four principal clauses to the agreement.

**(1)** McMurrough shall be keeper and constable of the castle of Ferns, lately recovered out of the possession of certain rebels by the Lord Deputy, paying for the first year eighty marks and afterwards by agreement.

**(2)** Gerald Sutton Kavanag to be the sub constable and governor of the castle. This Gerald was the 5th son of Donough of Ballyloughan and a nephew of Moriertagh Og of Garryhill.

**(3)** The McMurrough and Gerald to safely guard and defend the castle and dominions and surrender them to the Deputy when

required.

(4) Hostages were to be given, namely Maurice a son of Murtagh the Tanaiste and Art the son of Gerald the governor of the castle. (He as subsequently known as Art na hInse of Ballymoon.) Failure to fulfill the terms of the indenture meant forfeiture of their possessions forever. Moreover the Earl of Ossory and his son James, Lord O'More, Murtagh Mac Art Bui and his son Cahir Carragh were to be sureties for the performance of the promises.

In addition all black rents were to be discontinued in lieu of an annual pension payable to the McMurrough.

Walter Cowley, an English Officer of the Council, writing to Cromwell the King's secretary, suggested that a large force of soldiers be stationed at Wexford town and at Ferns. From there they could survey the country 'now the King's' and win the castles, and holds and cattle of the Kavanaghs and Byrnes between Dublin and the English Pale of Forth and Bargy and the lands of the Earl of Ossory, so that by the following March the whole area would be desolate of the Irishry and made habitable.

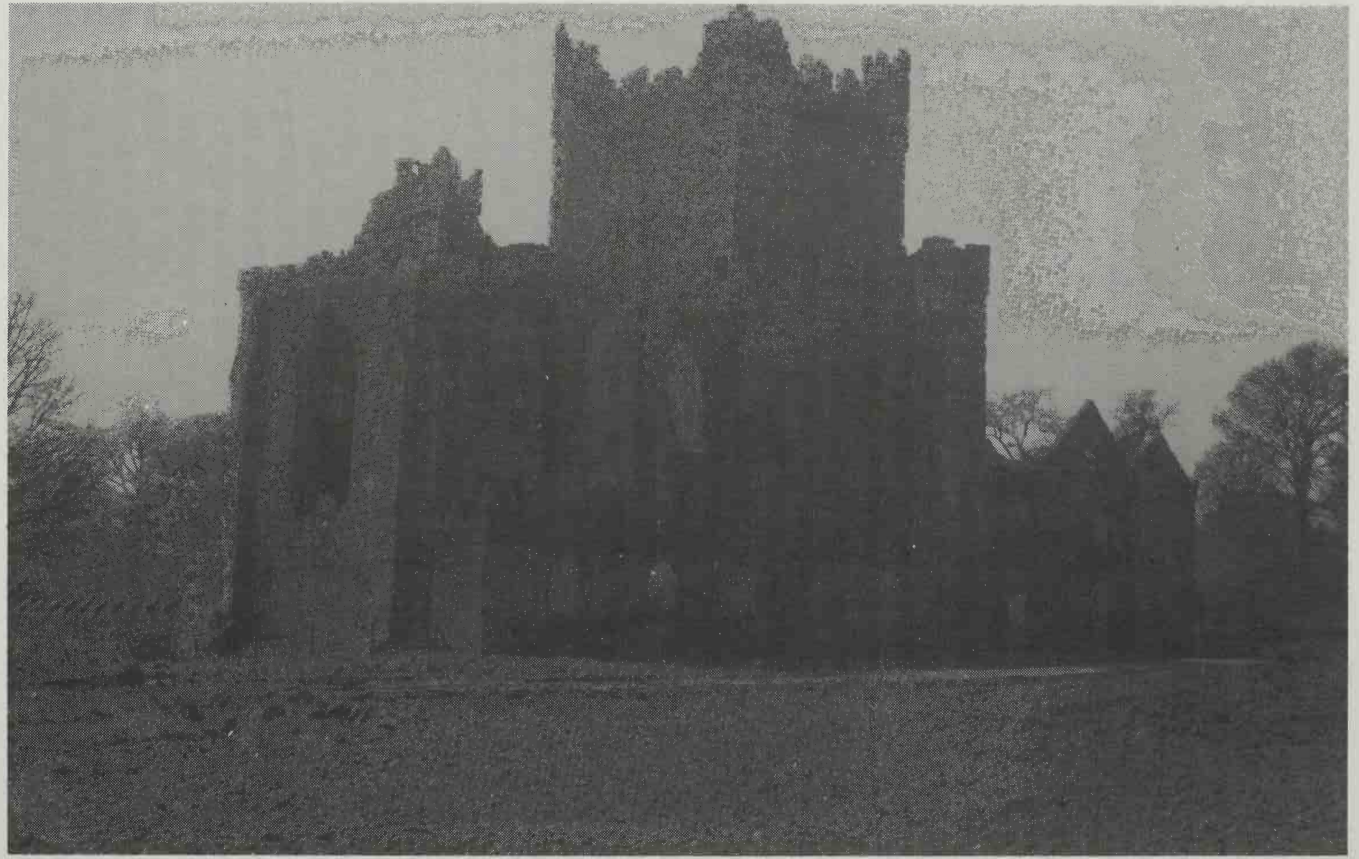
Although this advice was not acted upon, moves were afoot to dispossess the native Irish of Ui Cinnsealaigh and indeed the natives of the whole island. In his book 'The Peoples of Ireland', Liam le Paor says: 'Competitive Imperialism was in the European air; its objectives first formulated by the Portugese - 'Christians and spices' - that is, the imposition of European views and the making of profit. Ireland began to be regarded as if it were part of the non European world. It presented no longer merely a problem of government, but an opportunity for a new breed of adventurers. They were different from the Normans who had come to win fortunes long before. Many were honourable servants of the state and of their religion; some dishonourable but fearless conquistadors; others were riff raff. They belonged to a new age of beaurocracy and money, when lawyers, spies, ssassins and executioners flourished, and the conflict was joined in earnest between the world of rational calculation and organization and the world of tradition.

The Cowley mentioned above was one such adventurer and son of Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls. Both father and son were helped by the patronage of Cromwell the King's secretary.

In keeping with the new thinking and in order to implement the new religious policy in Ireland, Lord Grey, the Deputy, held a parliament which passed a declaration of the royal supremacy, with a denial of the Pope's authority. But the supression of the monasteries was only implemented gradually and it was this policy

which gave the King and his administrators the wedge they needed to begin prising the land away from the native Irish. In addition an act of confiscation was passed whereby the lands of the absentee landlords were taken for the King.

In the following year, 1537, the King appointed a special commission to speed up the whole process and the commissioners headed by Sir Anthony St. Leger arrived from England with express orders to carry through a programme of reorganization of Parliament, of Administration and of the Church. As well as appointing this commission the King reduced the standing army in Ireland to 340 soldiers and gave orders for the establishment of garrisons in Dublin, Kildare, Desmond and the Liberty of Wexford. The Butlers, who had remained loyal to the Government during the Geraldine rebellion of the previous year were to provide the garrisons and Richard Butler was the man chosen to be the Constable of Ferns castle. The commission sat in Dublin and received presentments from the various towns under English rule. Among the presentments of injuries sustained were representations from the Irishtown of the city of Kilkenny, to the effect that the McMurrough was accustomed to exact black rent from the town of Gowran and that his kern had stolen horses from there recently. In another presentment from the Wexford Jury, Murtagh the son of Art Bui was accused of 'keeping the lands of Enniscorthy by force of arms, even though it was freeholders land belonging to the Rochfords and Prendergasts. Edmond Kavanagh and his brother Gerald sons of Dermot Lamhdearg was accused of levying tolls on the Barrow and preventing shipping from moving up or down the rive without their consent. Many other Kavanaghs were mentioned by name as owners of property or for their part in previous disturbances etc. Donal Reagh a son of Gerald was also mentioned for taking tolls on the Barrow with his father and uncle. It was noted that the district known as Killinerle was in the possession of the descendants of Donal Reagh the King of Leinster who had died in 1476, notably Murtagh McDermot Kavanagh who was a grandson of Gerald the McMurrough d. 1523. Killinerle (Coill an Iarla - the Earls wood) was an area on the Blackstairs stretching form Killcollatrim near Borris to Clonmullen near Bunclody. Cahir McArt was mentioned as was his uncle Dulaing who had tried unsuccessfully for the title of McMurrough in 1531. Others named were Murrough Baccach, a nephew of Cahir McArt, eldest son of Gerald who was levying tolls on the Barrow, Gerald Carragh, a son of Dulaing mentioned above, and the sons of Art Bui many of whom



Tintern Abbey, granted to Anthony Colclough

were illegitamate. These included Donough the son of the smith's daughter who was dead by 1519, another called erroneously Mcjunye Owkaye which Nicholls assumes to be the son of the fuller's daughter, and another described as McDonough Kavanagh McGuyre.

The Council of Ireland, now sent a document to the King entitled 'A Memorial from the Council in Ireland for the winning of Leinster and the establishment of the King's authority'. The following extracts show the suggestions for the settlement of the country.

'Theire be many Irishmen in Inglande. Let three or four thousand of them at the least which be of honest substaunce be sent hither to inhabite the countrie aforesaid (between Dublin and Waterford) in fourme following; In Wicklow is a strong castell of the Kynges alredy. Let that towne be walled and secten of the Company be assigned to inhabit there. Arkelow is withing 12 myles therof, and there is a good castell; let that town be walled and a certein nomber of the Companie assigned thither to inhabite. Then Ferns which is within 12 myles thereto, being situate in the middes of the said countrie, lett some be assigned to inhabit there wher is both a great castell of the Kynges, the Cathedrall Church, an Abbey and a towne. Within four myles thereunto is there a place called Innyscortti whereunto cometh an Arme of the Sea, from the Haven of Wexford. Let a castell with a towne be buylded there and another certein number of the said parsons assigned to ihabite there. Ther is a place of ffriers observaunts well buylded with divers old stone walls'.

The Memorial goes on to recommend the appointing of 'fit persons with grants of land' and goes on to state 'there must be one hedde Captayne which shall have the governance, guyding and leading all the others. He must be an active expert and a grave personage of the degre of an Earl, to be created by the name of t'Erll of Carlaugh and lord of fernes, and he to have the same honors to hym and his male heirs, with the Manors of Carlaugh and fernes, the Barony of Odrone, the abbey of Baltinglass, the Lordship of Rathvilly, Clonmore, and all James FitzGeralds lands in those parts, and all the lands between that and fernes, and so on to O'Morchoe's country (the Oulart area) as shall be appointed by such as shall be assigned by the King to make division to the said Captayns of all the said porcons'.

The Earl of Ormonde who was a cousin of many of the leading Kavanaghs of the period, wasn't slow to get in on the act and though he busied himself in Munster, yet the extraordinary tone of his letter quoted below, would seem to imply a hatred of the Kavanaghs.

Nonetheless this may have been a ploy to conceal his real intention of affording as much protection to the clan as he could manage without being accused of treason. The number of pardons which the various Kavanaghs received during the course of the century would imply that they had a real friend at court. Here is an extract from the letter mentioned above:

'Assuredly there is nothing so needful now to be attempted as the enterprize of how to diminish the McMurroughs and Kavanaghs, for as they have lately so surely bound together, who have been many years in mortall hate of each other, taketh now one part, yea, and with one assent concluded to stick in one quarrel against the Inglishry of this land.....and therefore in my mind it is the highest enterprize to be attempted in this land to destroy the Kavanaghs, and likest to take effect, my lord Deputy setting to it with the Englishry, Mr. Sentloo with the County of Wexford (meaning the gentlement of the Pale of Wexford) and I with my power, on the other part, not doubting so to work in it as they shall be of little power, God willing'.

Following these presentments the Lord Deputy, Grey, in 1538 prepared for a further incursion into the territory of Ui Cinnsealaigh. His expedition was hastened by the news from Ormonde that he had to send his son Richard with a company to protect and victual Ferns castle as he heard the Kavanaghs intended to lay siege to it.

Apparently Grey came into the area in the month of July via Carlow and according to the Carew papers he attacked and levelled two castles of the O'Nolans, the adherents of the Kavanaghs. He then carried fire and sword through the territories of the Irish clans 'destroying Kavanagh country and taking their castles'. The Kavanaghs retaliated by destroying the castle at Ferrycarrig. In another encounter with Grey's army Cahir Carragh, the eldest son of the tanaiste Murtagh McArt Bui, was killed and this prompted the McMurrough to come to terms with the Deputy.

Reporting to King Henry, the Dublin Council reported that the clans were willing to accept the principal of surrender and regrant. Cahir McInnycross was forced to give hostages including Murtagh the son of Art Bui, Cahir McArt, the O'Morchu, and Edmond Duff of the Kinsellaghs. Deputy Grey was doubtful if the peace would last and asked instruction as to the advisability of banishing all the heads and chief gentlemen of the clan, leaving only the poor tillers there 'which be good inhabitants'.

As already alluded to in a previous paragraph, moves were afoot

to sequester the church lands and take them for the King. This process was put in train in 1539 when an Irish Commission was set up for the suppression of the religious houses. In Ui Cinnsealaigh, these church lands, which were extensive, were occupied by clansmen, for example the family of Charles Kavanagh of Graiguenamanagh was in possession of the lands of Duiske abbe.y. Therefore the sequestration of the church lands was to have severe consequences on the clan property redistribution and was resisted and bitterly resented. The commissioners appointed were of the new breed of adventurers who saw the possibility of huge financial gains for themselves. The Commission members were John Allen (the chancellor), Archbishop Browne, William Brabazon (the vice treasurer), Robert Cowley (master of the Rolls), and the Crown receiver Thomas Cusacke.

By the autumn of 1539 much of the work had been done. The monasteries were closed, and the occupiers informed that they had to surrender the lands to the Crown officials. The lands in question in our area were the church lands in the vicinty of Ferns. Enniscorthy, Clonegal, Templeshambo, St. Mullins, Leighlin, Glascarrig, Aghowle and other smaller holdings. A further aggravation was the passing of an act of Parliament which forbade the payment of Black Rents.

The Kavanaghs went into rebellion and the new Deputy, St. Leger came into Ui Cinnsealaigh, and attacked them in Carlow and in Wexford. St. Leger himself stood to gain from the conquest of Ireland as he was one of the very few men who was granted a licence to purchase land in Ireland. He became increasingly involved in Crown property dealings in Ui Cinnsealaigh and particularly with the leasing of Church lands in south Wexford.

His efforts in Ui Cinnsealaigh seem to have been somewhat successful as he reported that the Kavanaghs were 'much subdued'. Nonetheless, despite his attentions the Irish abbots were loth to part with their benefices, and it was ten years more before Charles O'Morchoe, the last abbot of Glascarrig priory was ousted from his benefice. Even then the lands were let to the Peppards whose heir married Maeve Kavanagh of Coolnaleen a daughter of one of the last of the great chieftains. The Duiske Kavanaghs also managed to hold on for much longer than the officials contemplated but Cahir McArt who was the occupier of Abbey lands, near St. Mullins, consisting of 80 acres and two woods, for which he paid an annual rent to the Abbot (Cahir Kavanagh) of 10s 2p, was dispossessed, on paper at any rate, and the beneficiary was Richard Savage of Chaple Isolde

in Dublin.

In the Wexford Pale, the descendants of the Normans, who were traditionally loyalist, began to resist these religious changes and when the monasteries were suppressed and the lands confiscated for the Crown there were waves of unrest among some of the leading families, in particular the Devereux, Neville and Keating families, who were dispossessed of parts of their lands which they had held from the Church for generations.

Some idea of the disturbed state of the counry can ge gauged from the Inquisitions of Church lands which were being conducted by local Jurys. In the course of describing the various tracts of lands attaching to the monasteries, it was noted that 'the lands were waste owing to the ravages of the Kavanaghs'. For example the lands so described which belonged to the Abbey of Selskar were Killurin, Tikillin, and Slane (Shelmalier West), Baldwinstown (Bargy), Killisk, Kimalock, and St. Nicholas (Ballaghkeen South), and Kilhile (Shelburne). In Ferns, all the Church lands were declared 'waste'.

The allocation of these lands to officers of the Crown led to much turmoil and strife in the region, and was instrumental in destroying Kavanagh power in Ui Cinnsealaigh. These monastic houses became forward strongholds for the conquest which was to be accomplished by two means - coercion and negotiation. By implementing his policy of surrender and regrant, Henry thought to achieve his aims with the minimum of cost to the exchequer. To quote Liam le Paor again : 'The Irish chiefs were encouraged to come in and surrender their territories, abandon the rule of the Brehon laws of land distribution, give up their Irish titles, disown the Pope and acknowledge Henry as their King. In return they were to be supplied with office, title, and property, all neatly framed within the framework of English law'.

In the next two years there was much unrest in the whole area and in 1542 the Lord Deputy hosted into Wicklow. The O'Byrnes submitted and convenanted to find one hundred and twenty gallowglasses and their servants for three months. A planned invasion of the territory of the Kavanaghs was averted by the McMurrough agreeing to attend a meeting early the following year to draw up a treaty. The chief men of the clan attended, namely, Cahir McInnycross the McMurrough, Murtagh McArt Bui the Tanaiste, Gerald Sutton Kavanagh and Cahir McArt.

A formal preliminary surrender and regrant submission was signed in September. Two important clauses were omitted by the

Crown. One was the repudiation of Papal Authority, and the other was the ommission of any arrangement to give the clan Parliamentary representation. Under this agreement the Kavanaghs recognised the right of the Crown to the castles of Ferns, Enniscorthy, Clohamon, and Clonmullen and they agreed to give the lands adjacent to the castles to the King. In return it was agreed that the Kavanaghs could make a new division and partition of their lands. They also agreed to banish their idlemen and not to impose coyne and livery.

The adjudicators were to be three Englishmen of the following: Thomas Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass, John Travers, Master of the Ordnance, Edward Basnet, Dean of St. patrick's, Richard Butler and Robert St. Leger as well as three Irishmen of the following: John O'Doran, Ferganyn Doran, Cahir McArt, Murtagh McArt Bui (tanaiste), and Gerald Sutton Kavanagh.

The Kavanaghs were to redivide the clan lands to compensate the former occupiers of Church lands and the occupiers of the lands assigned to the castles. In addition the lands divided among the clan members were to become the property of the clan members who received them after the English fashion and in accordance with English law. Moreover letters patent were promised to the Gaelic owners who complied and the Crown would confirm each owner and his heirs forever. It was further clearly specified that Cahir McArt was to be confirmed in the ownership of the Lordship of St. Mullins, provided he built a mansion there and kept the accustomed fairs and kept the peace.

This was the first concerted and organised effort to tackle the problem of the land ownership in Ireland generally and in Ui Cinnsealaigh in particular. It was clearly the intention of the government to appoint Englishmen with retinues of armed soldiers to occupy the lands mentioned and in that way proceed with the conquest of the Gaelic lands.

The first such Englishman to be appointed was Anthony Colclough a Staffordshire gentleman, an officer in the army and a Catholic. He was granted the lands and monastery of Tintern. He was a determined, strong man who occupied and defended his lands. He came into conflict with Cahir McArt as he claimed the lands of St. Mullins as part of the Abbey lands of Tintern. Another such grant was to Sir Osborne Itchingham of the Abbey and lands of Dunbrody, which St. Leger noted bordered the Kavanaghs 'whom had always been robbers and spoylers of the same lands'. The rent of Dunbrody was very inexpensive at only £3.10s6d as opposed to

£26.13s.4d paid by Sherlock the previous occupier.

In the same year that the Kavanaghs came under such pressure from St. Leger and the administration, 1543, Cahir McInnycross died and was succeeded by Murtagh the son of Art Bui of Enniscorthy. The position of Tanaiste was disputed by the Garryhill Kavanaghs under the leadership of Gerald McCahir, a grandson of Moriertagh Og, and the Polmonty Kavanaghs under Cahir McArt. The dispute finally erupted into a full scale battle in 1545 which was fought at Hacketstown. The Polmonty Kavanaghs were supported by the Kavanaghs of Ballytiglea, and in the battle seven sons of Donell Reagh of Ballytiglea lost their lives. Over a hundred men on both sides were killed but Cahir McArt seems to have won the day. The feuding between the Garryhill and Ballytiglea Kavanaghs continued into the next two decades and Donell the eldest son of Gerald McCahir was killed in 1570 by one of the Clan Donough or Ballytiglea Kavanaghs.

Murtagh McArt Bui, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, died in 1547 as did Henry VIII. Murtagh's son Art Bui McMoriertagh was ousted from Enniscorthy castle and was given a 'pardon' in return. He moved to Clonmullen castle (near where Bunclody now stands) and was subsequently killed by Heron an English captain, in a treacherous manner it was said. Heron was another of the Englishmen appointed to Crown lands. Henry VIII was later succeeded by his daughter Elizabeth, whose mother Anne Boleyn was closely related to the 8th Earl of Ormonde and therefore to the Kavanaghs.

# Chapter 8

# Ui Cinnsealaigh And The Early Tudor Adventurers

THE EIGHTEEN years from 1536 to 1554 were the years in which the Gaelic way of life, as it had existed from time immemorial, came under severe and sustained attack in Ui Cinnsealaigh, and though it survived well into the 17th century, in a somewhat modified way, the death knell was sounding for a unique system of living that had served the Celts so well for so long.

Among the many diverse forces which combined to bring about the imminent demise of the Gaelic Way were: the determination of Henry VIII and his minsisters to bring Ireland under English rule and under English law; the emergence of a breed of adventurers who were calculating, ruthless, and ambitious, and who sought to advance their fortunes at the expense of the native Irish, whom in the main they despised as being almost sub-human and fit only for exploitation and even genocide; the clash of cultures which were totally at variance in their concepts of Justice, Morality, and Religious beliefs; the inordinate difficulties of communication between peoples who spoke such different languages; the calibre of the government officials from the highest to the lowest office in both Ireland and England, who were in the main, ammoral, corrupt, degenerate, avaricious, and deceitful.

One of the earliest grants of church lands noted in the documentation relating to the period was that of the possessions of Dunbrody Abbey, jointly, to Henry Draycott, an English soldier, and sometime Receiver and Bailiff of the Lordship of Wexford, and Sir Osbourne Etchingham, a marshal in the English army in Ireland. St. Leger, in wirting to the Council to recommend this grant stated: 'the said Kavanaghs be neither so evil disposed as they have been in tymes past nor yet so great a strength, yet be they not in such perfection but there remayneth still among them many evill doers, whereby we thinke it more mete to have such one assured servant of H.Ms planted there as were able of hymself to stay their malice, if they woulde attempt the same; for it lyeth so as suche a man may do

ther greate service, and no doubt the same Sir Osbourne having as he hath a convenient nombre under him... shall reduce that corner to much quyet and civilitie'.

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Art Bui McMoriertagh, who had been forced to remove from Enniscorthy to Clonmullen, received a pardon as his reward for good behaviour, as did his sister Sadbh, (who was married to Turlough O'Toole of Powerscourt, at Clonmullen by a priest known as Maurice O'Curran). He also had a brother Donough of Mongan and a half brother, who was illegitimate, known as the 'Sagart Og'. They are not noted as having received pardons and may have been resident elsewhere at the time. His other brother Cahir Carragh had been killed in 1538 by the English. Cahir Carragh's son Donal became the most influential man of the clan in the closing years of the century. He was known as Donal Spainneach.

As already mentioned Art Bui was killed treacherously by the soldier adventurer Heron in the early 1560s. It might be appropriate at this time to note the career of Heron another beneficiary of the church and Crown land grants.

Hore states that he was probably a descendant of the ancient family of Herons, of Ford, in Northumberland, an adventurous soldier who made himself so useful to the government that he was appointed Constable of Leighlin, where Anthony Colclough was the captain. He acted with Colclough in 'ordering and pacifying some of the rebellious septs of the Kavanaghs on the borders between Wexford and Carlow'. Both these captains were pardoned in 1552 probably for treating with Irish rebels. Sometime after this he was made Sheriff of Carlow. He got a lease of the site and Manor of Ferns, with the castle, about 1000 acres of land in various parts adjacent, and all the rents and customs of the countries called Edmond Duff's, McVadocks, McAmores, and the Duffry. He was given a commission to execute martial law in Carlow in 1559 and in 1561 he was appointed Justice of the Peace. In 1562 he was appointed Seneschal of Wexford and was placed temporarily in charge of Ferns castle, and was entrusted with the 'ordering' of the Kavanaghs. At some time shortly after this he invited Art Bui McMurtagh, of Clonmullen to a feast in his house, probably the castle of Ferns, and there Art Bui was treacherously killed. Heron, according to to Hore's account seems to have had only seventeen horsemen and eighteen footmen at his disposal and yet he managed to survive the predictable onslaught from the Kavanaghs, aided by the Byrnes and Keatings in the two following years. His son was not

so lucky and both he and a Bagenal a later adventurer in Carlow, were both killed by the Kavanaghs in 1587 and the Kavanaghs were pardoned for the killings. Heron was made Constable of Wexford castle in 1563 and it is possible he removed there to escape the worst of the storm. Prior to the murder of Art Bui, Sussex, in writing to London on the state of affairs in Ui cinnsealaigh, stated that 'the Kavanaghs are brought to such order that they live at the commandment of Captain Heron and under the laws'. Another official mentions that they have agreed to become constables and sub constables of their own castle, while another wrote to the Queen that 'the Kavanaghs, being heretofore the strongest nation in Leinster, whose principal captain always claimed to be the King of Leinster and was called the 'McMurrough', have of late submitted themselves in such sort that they live in obedience and answer every tem to all the Queen's courts in Dublin, and be there empanelled upon quests and juries, as freeholders of English blood be'. Heron's miraculous achievement was probably brought about, not by corercion, but by negotiation and following Art Bui's death, the situation deteriorated rapidly and in 1565 the new Deputy, Sidney, found the country in a deplorable state 'with the Kavanaghs and Birnes devastating at will'. However Sidney gave Heron the stamp of approval by reappointing him in office, and the Queen hallmarked that approval by knighting him and in 1566 he was granted the leases of Enniscorthy and other church lands that had been given to Gabriel Bleck in 1552. He went to England in 1568 having first sold his interest in Ferns to Richard Synott, from Wexford. Heron died in England in that year.

Cahir McArt succeeded Murtagh McArt Bui as the McMurrough in 1547 and was recognised as King of Leinster by the Irish. Colclough and Brian Jones (another adventurer) writing to the Lord Deputy, Bellingham, complained about the behavior of Cahir McArt, who refused to give them a hearing about an alleged robbery of horses. Cahir kept a rive between himself and the English party, and inthe couse of the parley,he denied that the robbers were followers of his, but claimed they were followers of Richard Butler. However the Englishmen saw the thief on the other bank and he was identified as a Kavanagh of Garryhill. Cahir refused to hand him over for trial by English law and said he would stick only to the Brehon law.

If he was in fact a Garryhill Kavanagh, this would indicate that the feud was now patched up but not all the Kavanaghs were at peace as Crimthainn of Coolnaleen a grandson of Donal Reagh, King

of Leinster and 4th son of Muiris, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, was killed by Enna, son of Edmond Duff of the Kinsellaghs. Enna received a royal pardon for the slaying. It is probable that the murder was perpetrated because of some claim over lands.

Bellingham, who was still Lord Deputy in 1549, although he was an able military governor, was not the man to govern as he failed to comprehend the local situations and the country moved towards disturbance and rebellion.

He was replaced in 1550 by St. Leger, who had returned to England some years previously. St. Leger picked up the threads of his surrender and regrant policy and issued pardons to various chiefs of the Clan Kavanagh. These included the chiefs of the septs of Templeudigan (Donal McDonough a grandson of Dermot Lamhdearg), Tincurry (Crimthinn McMoriertagh another grandson of Dermot Lamhdearg) and St. Mullins/Polmonty, (Gerald McArt McDermot Layard, older brother of Cahir McArt, and his son, and the sons of Cahir McArt, namely Tirlough, Brian, Art and Donough). Cahir seems to have been omitted, and indeed all the Co. Wexford Kavanaghs do not appear to have been included in this session, indicating that the main thrust of St. Leger's initiative was against the Polmonty Kavanaghs, under Cahir McArt's leadership.

There seems to have been some tentative social or political intercourse between the Irish and the colonists in the Wexford Pale at this time as we find James Devereux of Wexford town was a surety for Donal O'Morchoe, chief of Clan Morchoe (in the Oulart area) and Philip Furlong was surety for Dowling McDermot Kavanagh, of the Templeudigan/Ballyleigh sept, while Thomas FitzHenry was a surety for Cahir McArt. In addition Walter Gallde Kavanag, a son of Murrough of the Ferns line, was being fostered by the Furlongs in the Wexford Pale, which accounts for his soubriquet - Gallde.

Cahir was persuaded to renounce the title of King of Leinster in Dublin and was promised the title of Baron of Ballyann. He gave his son Donough as hostage. The division of the lands among the different septs was begun. Cahir's wife Alicia, the sister of Silken Thomas went to Kilkenny to mediate with the officers of the crown, but little came of it. Cahir himself was reluctant to go in case he might be apprehended.

Cahir, in addition to adovcating the use of the brehon laws and sheltering 'thieves' seized the castle of Ferns 'by treachery' according to the English account, from Arthur Butler, a son of James the 9th

Earl of Ormonde, thereby establishing himself firmly as head of the clan.

Following the seizure of the castle, which was just the excuse needed for a war, Brabazon the Lord Justice was instructed to invade the territory of Cahir McArt of Polmonty. In 1550 the invasion took place. Brabazn's army 'killed many of Cahir's followers and forced him to submit, renounce the title McMurrough, and give up his usurped territory and jurisdiction'. The 'usurped' territory in question may well have been the Tintern lands to which Colclough laid claim. Cahir's son Donough was executed at Cork because of his father's 'treason'.

The following were present when he made his submission before a great Council in Dublin - the Earls of Desmond, Clanrickarde, Thomond, and Tyrone, and the Lords Mountgarret (Richard Butler), Dunboyne, Cahir and Ibracan. Cahir subsequently had to give further hostages and also give up much of the territory to which he had laid claim.

Cair, as the accepted chief of the clan was the prime target of the administration in Ireland, and the brief note saying that many of his followers were killed, probably understates the rality. During the inter-clan feud in 1545 over two hundred men were killed so one might speculate that many more must have been slain in the battle with the English, and this would account for the alacrity of Cahir's submission. Among the slain were Gerald Carragh McDowling of Ballybaun, Art McDowling of Ballyaman in Kilrush parish, and Dermot McMuiris of Crompane.

The way was now clear for the wholesale confiscation of church lands and 'Crown' lands and in the next two years appointments were made and some attempts were made to have the occupiers evicted.

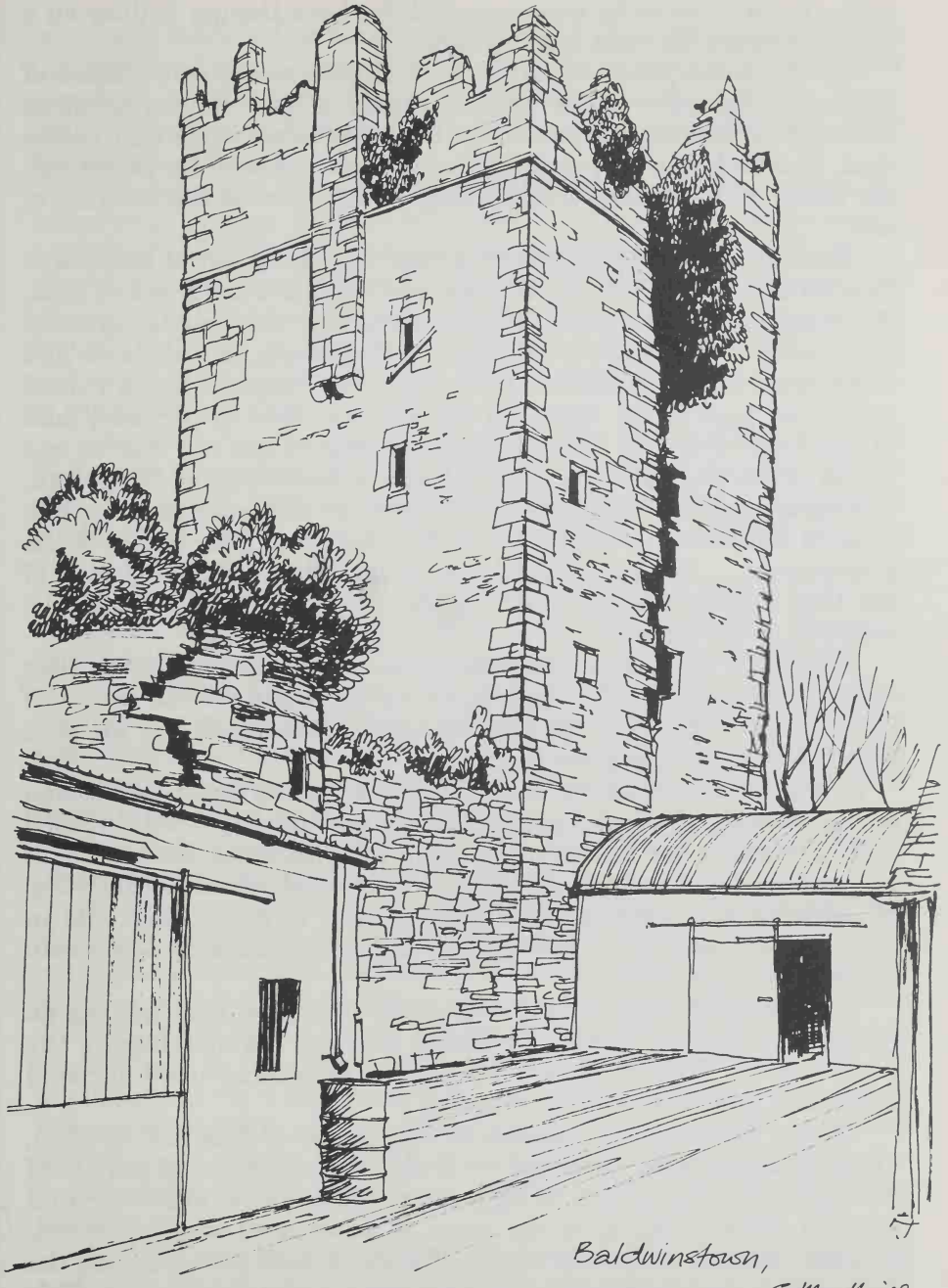
Walter Peppard of Kilkea castle in Co. Kildare , whose widow Elizabeth married Stukely, the celebrated adventurer, of whom anon, was granted a lease of the lands of Glascarrig Priory, in 1550, but not the Priory or the immediate lands still in the possesion of Dermit (?) who succeeded Charles O'Morchoe, who appears to have died in the ealry 1540s. In the year following, all the lands and property of the Priory were leased to Peppard, whose son Anthony was confirmed in their possession by a further 21 year lease granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1567. Anthony, who was married to Maeve a daughter of Murrough Kavanagh of Coolnaleen (Camolin), did his utmost to champion the cause of the Kavanaghs in the middle years of the century.

John Parker, St. Leger's secretary and Constable of Dublin Castle, bought the Abbey of Selskar and all the its lands (which were very extensive) from the King, in 1550, having got possession of them by agreement three years earlier. He later sold them off to various other entrepreneurs of the era, including James Devereux and Paul Turner of Wexford. Devereux further increased his holdings by subletting the lands of Kilcavan monastery from St. Leger. Devereux and Turner were brothers in law. Turner the physician to Queen Mary had got a grant of lands in the Wexford area during her reign.

In the next year the Keatings of Baldwinstown, in the person of Richard Keating tried, to get in on the act. He applied to the Council and the King for the lease of the castle and Manor of Ferns, the Manor of Enniscorthy, the monastery of St. Johns with all the properties associated with them. But he was bitterly disappointed when he was refused on the grounds that he was not a person of sufficient standing and the grant of Ferns was later given to Heron. In the previous year Richard Keating had been granted a lease of Kilcowan in the Wexford Pale, by Walter Cowley, the surveyor, to prevent 'his ymportunacye and his continuall clamor'. It was no wonder that the Keatings subsequently went into rebellion. Concerning this family, Deirdre Kavanagh in her thesis 'Monastic Dissolution in Co. Wexford' says that 'the family's subsequent fall from grace resulted in a similar decline in status in the county, and from that time on they never again reached the pinnacle of power and influence so obvious before St. Leger's time.

In 1552 a lease of the site and lands of the Abbey of Ferns were granted to David Power, who was given them at a reduced rent 'in consideration of the premises lying among the Caverners'. David was either the son or nephew of the last abbot of Tintern, John Power, who also leased his relative some of the Abbey lands of Tintern. The Powers were the descendants of the Norman le Poer, who had settled in Waterford. The Powers spread into Wexford in the 16th century and three of their number became prelates of the Church.

The following year Francis Agarde, an English soldier and Constable of Wexford castle, was given a 21 year lease of the lands and Castle of Ferns. Agarde later sold his interest to Heron and concentrated his interest in the county of Wicklow. However he was later joined with Heron in the Captaincy of the Kavanaghs and the rule of Ferns district, (1566) but that appointment did not appear to last long, as he was ensconced in his castle at Newcastle, in Co. Wicklow at the end of the decade as we shall see later. He was still




Baldwinstown Castle, home of the Keatings

active in 1577 when he acccompanied the Lord Deputy Sydney on a circuit through Wexford and Wicklow.

In the same year (1553) Richard Butler was given a lease of extensive properties in the neighbourhood of Ross, having acquired the lands of the Augustinians from Richard Savage some time before that. In addition he acquired the lease of the lands of St. Johns and the tithes of the rectory of Kilcordrey for 21 years at the low rent of 43s.

Another person to benefit from the parcelling out of lands was Gabriel Bleck (Black or Blake) who was a son of John Bleck of Ross, the recipient of the lease of Rosbercon priory. Gabriel was granted the lease of 'the late house of Friars in Enniscorty, a water mill and other appurtenances adjoining the manor of Innescorthie, a ruined castle and land in the same, an old weir and land in Garrane, land in the Leverock and Karrick, the customs of the fair there; one fourth of the Deinge ? the one sixth of one fourth part of Kilmalogh, and meussages and lands in Garryhaston in O'Morous country, late Donoyll O'Morows, attainted, (I cannot place this man in any of the genealogies).....the leasee shall not assign without the approval of the Lord Deputy and all great hawks breeding on the premises be reserved to the King'.

Like many of the other grantees, Gabriel does not appear to have taken possession of his grant, lying as it did in the heart of Kavanagh country. Nothing more is noted about Bleck and within a decade the grant was given to Heron.

In order to speed up the whole process of taking actual possession of the Crown and Church properties the new Deputy Croft, invaded and laid waste the country. He came to some agreement with th Kavanaghs who lived around Ferns, the descendants of Gerald, King of Leinster, who died in 1523. They agreed to make payments in kind to the Constable of Ferns castle which at that time was a ruin and had no Constable.

Croft himself later benefitted from the conquest by acquiring an interest in lands of Dunbrody Abbey through his marriage to the widow of Sir William Drury. He stayed in Ireland until the mid 1570s and then went back to England.

Queen Mary who succeeded to the throne of England in 1553, although a Catholic, inherited an Irish administration of convinced Protestants. The policy of aggressive attacks on areas beyond English control, begun in the reign of Edward VI was continued. English captains with their bands of soldiers were placed among the Kavanaghs, at Leighlin, Ferns, Enniscorthy and St. Mullins. This

move was designed to further weaken the clan system and reduce the power of the Kavanaghs. Pardons were issued to compliant members, who hoped to be able to hold on to their lands. These included Dermot McMuiris of Coolnaleen, and Maurice Duff McDermot of Camolin.

The unrelenting quest for soft pickings continued apace and in the same year Jasper Busher initiated a suit against Murrough a brother of Cahir McArt for the possession of Ballyann. The Bushers, an old Norman family from the barony of Forth, were granted the manor of Ballyann in the early 13th century but like the Carews, lost it in the 14th. The suit was successful but the lands were regranted to Cahir McArt when he was created Baron of Ballyann, in the next year 1554.

Cahir died the same year as he was made Baron of Ballyann and he was succeeded by Murrough of Coolnaleen, as the head of the clan. Cahir had lived at the castle of Old Ross and after his death his brother Dermot, who was now the Tanaiste, continued with the title of Baron of Ballyann.

The last straw, was the claim of John Fitzthomas FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare to large territories in Wexford, (including the Manor of Enniscorthy), south Carlow, and the O'Byrnes country in Wicklow.

Driven almost to despair, the Kavanaghs, Byrnes and O'Tooles, who were intermarried and who forged very close ties of friendship and kinship in the course of the century, decided to carry the fight to the enemy and they invaded the southern part of Dublin county, but the military aided by citizens of the city, after great slaughter, drove the rebels to Powerscourt where they surrendered. Seventy five of them were hanged and the rest pardoned.

Bowing to the severe pressure of killings and burnings the Kavanagh leadership sought to alleviate the hardships caused to the inhabitants by agreeing to surrender their lands to the Crown and get them regranted. In addition they agreed in principle to ensure a division of the lands among the occupiers after the fashion of the English and to introduce primogeniture. This agreement, was not implemented for many years because of the opposition of many of the septs, and the sheer difficulty of trying to explain to a very independent people, who for the most part were unlettered, the ramifications of such a social and economic upheaval resultant from the change.

As late as the end of the century, Donal Spainnigh was endeavouring to retrive for the clan the whole of the county of Wexford and simultaneously in Carlow the Garryhill Kavanaghs

Leighlinbridge Castle, where Murtagh the McMurrough of Coolnaleen was hanged, drawn and quartered in 1557

were fiercely resisting the intrusion of the Carew/Bagenal families. It was at this stage (1555) that Anthony Colclough became the legal owner of the Tintern Abbey lands. An adventurer from Staffordshire in England, Colclough had come over to Ireland in 1542 and after a short time he was posted to Leighlin, where he made the acquaintance of Heron, Agarde and Brian Jones. Colclough's main job, along with Brian Jones, was to ensure the free passage of shipping up the Barrow. He did not take possession of the lands until 1562 and he then occupied various official posts in Wexford and succeeded Richard Butler as Constable of Ferns castle. Later in the century he was made a commissioner for Munster and was knighted in 1581. He founded a dynasty which lasted right up to the present time.

Cahir Duff, a brother of Art Bui was pardoned in 1556, possibly for his part in the Powerscourt debacle and in the same year the Earl of Sussex came to Ireland as Lord Deputy. He later wrote that when the assembled forces of the army and the realm joined to host against the Kavanaghs, he found them so powerful that he had to leave off hosting, and make peace with them till a certain day. He said the O'Tooles were for the most part outlaws and some of the O'Byrnes, and peoples possessions were not safe within three miles of Dublin city. The O'Connors and the O'Moores of Offaly and Laois had driven out the English and pulled down their castles in the midlands and in the north Shane O'Neill was devastating at will.

In a foray the following year, English forces captured Murtagh the McMurrough and he was brought to Leighlin. He was tried for treason in Thomastown before the chief Justice Sir Henry Sydney, and accused that he had 'begun to exalt himself and forment disturbances against the Egnlish'. He was, predictably, found guilty and sentenced to death. He was hanged, drawn and quartered at Leighlin.

There must have been serious disturbances because the next year, following the accession of Queen Elizabeth (1558) a commission for the execution of martial law in Ireland was issued. A special commission for the territories of the Morrowes and the Fasagh of Bantry was issued to Richard Butler (Viscount Mountgarret), Nicholas Devereux, Matthew Hay (sheriff of Wexford) and Anthony Colclough.

# Chapter 9

# The Elizabethan Adventurers In Ui Cinnsealaigh

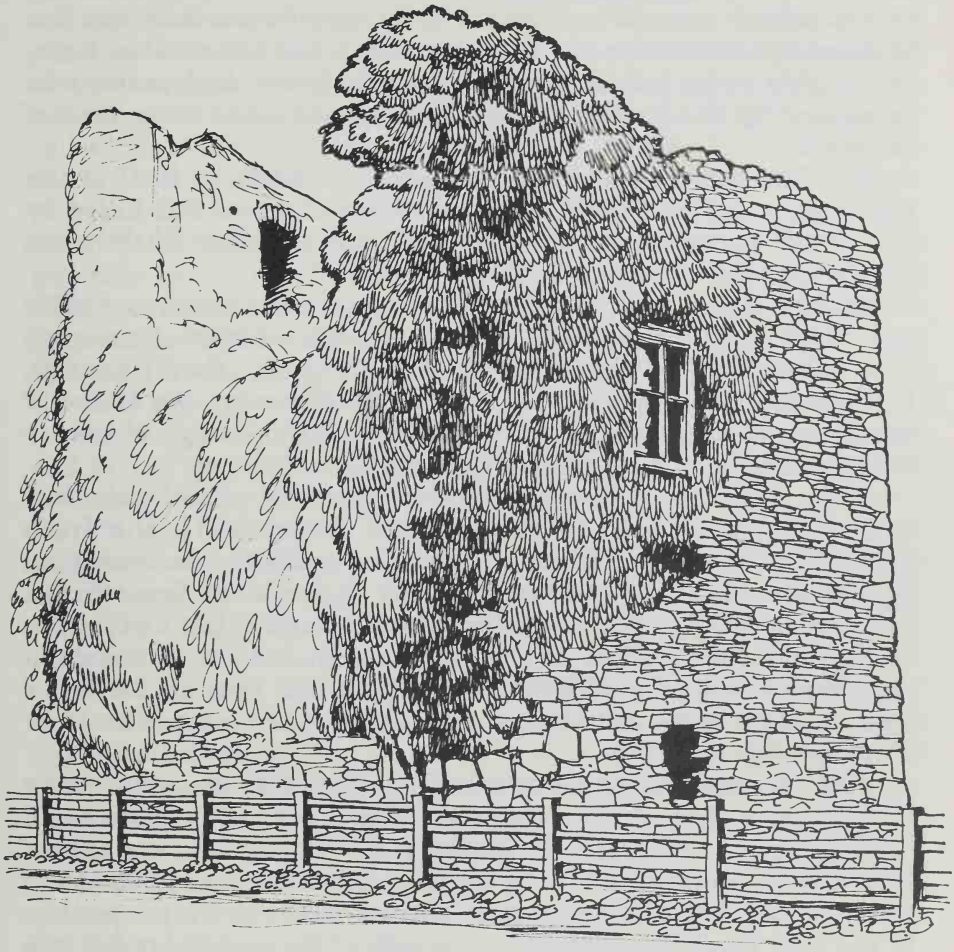
THE TUDOR adventurers that came in the wake of Queen Elizabeth's acession included Sir Peter Carew, Nicholas Bagenal, Thomas Stukely, Henry Wallop, Henry Harrington and Thomas Masterson. They were complete products of the age in which they lived and of the society from which they emanated. They were brave, thorough, determined, ambitious and ruthless men. In the case of the Masterson descendants many of the members subsequently became more Irish than the Irish themselves and became victims of the Cromwellian confiscations a century later. Nonetheless, they were the blade that cut the Gaelic society to pieces, a society that had been grazed and wounded by the adventurers before them. Another to benefit from the largesse of the new administration was Walter Peppard of Kilkea, Co. Kildare.

In addition to the formidable men mentioned above, some of the descendants of the Normans also contributed to the demise of the Gaelic society. The Butlers, in the person of the Earl of Ormonde and his brother Sir Richard, Viscount and later Lord Mountgarret, the Brownes, the Devereuxs, and many others of their ilk, who had been whittling away for centuries at the Gaelic Way.

Richard Butler was the first in and immediately applied to the new Queen for the lands of the McMurrough who had been executed, to have them in fee farm and to have some title to eclipse that of the McMurrough. Richard was the 2nd son of James the 8th Earl of Ormonde, whose uncle was Art Bui, King of Leinster. He was created Viscount Mountgarret by Edward VI in 1550 and in addition to the Augustinian lands he acquired earlier, he bought the lands of Kayer (Davidstown to Glynn) from Foulks Denn in 1556. The Kayer lands were later demised to Piers Butler his son. The family of Kayer were later dispossessed by the Cromwellians.

Walter Peppard was given a grant of the silvermines of Clonmines, having been given the lease of Glascarrig Monastery lands in 1550.

Nicholas Heron was given a grant of the Manor of Ferns and he



Mountgarret Castle, seat of the Butlers

set about taking actual possession. Despite meeting with considerable hostility from the Kavanaghs he met with some success and appears to have been able to ensconce himself in the castle which he must have repaired. He was later accused of treating with the rebels, and there must have been some measure of truth in this as his actual retinue was small. It is significant that Art Bui McMurtagh of Clonmullen, was given a pardon at this time, presumably at the behest of Heron, as part of some deal, possibly an agreement by the former to allow Heron unmolested occupation of the castle.

Art Bui was married to a daughter of Edmond Duff of the Kinsellaghs and had three sons, the eldest of whom was killed by Piers FitzEdmond Butler of Roscrea, (father of Walter FitzEdmond Butler, the celebrated slayer of Wallenstein).

Richard Butler again petitioned for lands in the next year (1559) and while including his request for the lands mentioned above he also asked for the abbey lands of Inistiogue, (Co Kilkenny), Inyslanaght (Co Tipperary), St. Johns in Enniscorthy, the Manor of Ferns, the castle and manor of Old Ross and the Fasagh of Bantry but he seems to have been unsuccessful at this time.

Much to the relief of the English settlers and officials who had come over to Ireland in the reign of Henry VIII, the Irish Parliament, like its English counterpart undid the ecclesiastical legislation which had been brought in by Queen Mary. One effect of the new legislation was to polarize and sharpen the distinction between the New English and the Old English, (who lived mainly in the towns and in the Wexford Pale). From this time on the latter began to intermarry with the native Irish in order to stengthen their common religious bond.

The attempts to woo the Gaelic landholders away from the Brehon system to the acceptance of English law continued apace and in this year (1560) Brian Carragh McDonagh Kavanagh of Clonleigh, a great grandson of Dermot Lamhdearg, completed the first part of the surrender and regrant policy by receiving a pardon. In the next year, Gerald McCahir Carragh of the sept of Art Bui was a principal party in the arbitration regarding the boundaries of Clonee, near Camolin. In the same vein, Donough McCrimthinn, a grandson of Murtagh who was executed in Leighlin in 1557, was noted on a deed as the proprietor of Ballybeg, in Kilrush parish. His uncle Brian McMoriertagh was also noted as a signatory to the deed.

Heron, who was a committed planter, now got a grant of the Abbey of Ferns, and was made Seneschal of Wexford. Either in this

year (1562) or just shortly after it, Heron treacherously killed Art Bui of Clonmullen, who was the grandson of Art Bui of Enniscorthy. Prior to the murder, Lord Sussex, writing to London stated that 'the Kavanaghs are brought to such order that they live at the commandment of Captain Heron, and under the laws'. At this time another commentator stated that they had become constables and sub constables in their own castles, while yet another stated that 'the Kavanaghs, being heretofore the strongest nation in Leinster, whose principal captain always claimed to be the King of Leinster, called the McMurgh, have of late submitted themselves in such sort as they live in obedience and answer every term to all the Queen's courts in Dublin and be there empanelled upon quests and juries as other freeholders of English blood be'. The same writer noted that the main causes of rebellion, disturbances and disobedience was the custom of electing the captain of the clan or nation. He noted that in order to be considered for the post any aspiring man needed to keep a private army, which was of necessity fed by the local population in the form of coyne and livery.

The happy state of affairs quoted to London came to an abrupt end in 1563 when the Kavanaghs, Byrnes and the Keatings went into rebellion and attacked the homes and farms of the planters. Heron, who had killed Art Bui, was made constable of Wexford castle and removed there to avoid the wrath of the rebels. This state of unrest continued right through to 1565 despite the attempts by Heron in 1564 to mediate with the clan. Heron was given a pardon for treating with the rebels.

When the new Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney came in 1565 he found the country in a deplorable state 'with the Kavanaghs and the Byrnes domineering and devastating at will'. Heron was confirmed in his offices by Sidney and he was later knighted by the Queen in recognition of his services. Sidney came with a clear mandate from the Queen and her ministers to proceed with the conquest and was given the resources to do so. Under his directions seneschals were given orders to lead the Irish to acceptance of common law, culminating eventually in the shiring of the regions.

To further hasten the process of Anglicization, the Polmonty Kavanaghs, Brian McCahir, and his brothers, Art and Crimthinn McCahir were given grants of English Livery on the 26th of August, one of the last examples of such grants which were fast becoming obsolete as a result of the assimilation of the two peoples. Brian also decided to send his children to school in England, and this ensured the survival of that particular sept, as the children subsequently

embraced the Protestant religion and during the upheavals of the next century they escaped the general persecution of Cromwell with their lands intact.

In the next year Mr. Agarde was joined with Heron in the captaincy of the Kavanaghs and Heron was given a lease of the lands that had been given to Gabriel Bleck in 1552. An important event occured in May of this year (1556) when Dermot McCahir Kavanagh was given a grant to be tanaiste in the Irish captaincy of the clan with special mention being made of his kinsmen in the McAmores, Edmond Duff's, the Duffry, and in O'Morrowes country except the manors of Enniscorthy and Ferns. Dermot had been appointed as tanaiste to Murrough of Coolnaleen who was executed in 1557. Dermot surrendered the title peacefully to his younger brother Brian, who effectively became the chief of the Kavanaghs descended from Dermot Lamhdearg. The chieftaincy of the northern Kavanaghs seems to have gone to Crimthinn of Coolnaleen, the 2nd son of Murrough who was executed.

Walter Peppard was dead by this year and both his widow and his son, Anthony, wrote a letter to the authorities, requesting that the law be brought against those who robbed them and their tenants in Enniscorthy, and that although the prince (Ed.VII) had pardoned the wrongdoers, they wanted compensation for their losses in the sum of £4000. It would appear that sometime in this year or the following, Anthony married Maeve Kavanagh of Coolnaleen, the daughter of Muiris an Iarainn who was the son of the McMurrough who was executed at Leighlin in 1557. About this time also Thomas Stukely, the adventurer, who had been stationed at Leighlin, through Peppard's widow, his sister, became acquainted socially with the Kavanaghs. In this way Stukely became known to the members of the Clan Kavanagh and was quite friendly with them, so much so that later in the decade when he fled to Spain, he brought with him Donal Kavanagh of Clonmullen, who was to later become the Chief man of the Kavanaghs, known by the soubriquet 'Spainneach'.

The surrender and regrant policy continued apace under Sir Henry Sidney the New Deputy who according to Ryan, laid waste the country with fire and sword, forcing many of the Kavanaghs to apply for pardons as the first step in legalising their positions in English law. These included the Clonmullen sept headed by Cahir Oure McCahir and Gerald his brother, the sons of Cahir Carragh who was killed in 1538, Muiris McDonal, a nephew of Cahir McArt, of Rathgarrog, Donal Reagh McMorough Backagh (Baccach) of

Booldurragh, a grandnephew of Cahir McArt, Dermot the son of Cahir McArt, and his son Donough ancestor of the sept of Ballinvalley and Lisselican, Turlough McCahir, ancestor of the sept of Ballinacoolagh, Brian McCahir, (ancestor of the septs of Ballyknockstaggard, Borris, Ballynabranagh, Knockscur, Balybrack, Rocksavage and Lisselican), and Murtagh McCahir of Knockin. Many others of the sept of Dermot Lamhdearg also received pardons, notably, Brian McDonal McDonagh of Borris Castle in Kilrush, his uncle Donough Og McDonough of Templeudigan, Donough McCrimthinn of Ballybeg (Ferns), Turlough McMurrough of Curraduff (near Bunclody), Edmond, Gerald, Donal and Artof Moneynamough, near Templeudigan, their uncle Brian of Tincurry, Art McDermot of Curraduff, Murrough McMuiris of Crompane, and Cahir Beg McMoriertagh of the Leverock.

The race for the spoils of war was now on in earnest, and Sir Peter Carew of Devon, laid claim to large estates in Co. Carlow in possession of five of the Kavanaghs septs, namely the descendants of Donough (the blind) who were now the sets of Garryhill, Ballyloughan and Ballyloo, and the descendants of Dermot Lamhdearg, in Polmonty and the fifth being the Kavanaghs of the Rower, who were descended from Donal Reagh. The case was fully examined by the Lord Chancellor, Weston, who found that the Kavanaghs could offer no proof of title. Carew was descended from the Carews who had been granted the lands of Carlow in the 13th century and who were dispossessed by the Irish in the 14th. Carew took up residence in the castle of Leighlin for a short time and endeavoured to get possession of the disputed territories. However, instead of using coercion he tried to use diplomacy and persuasion, offering the Kavanaghs the option of continuing as tenants. This offer seems to have been accepted, if somewhat relunctantly as we shall see.

Stukely, now in favour with the Crown was appointed as Seneschal of Wexford, and was given a commission to execute martial law in the county and liberty of Wexford, in the Kavanaghs country, in Idrone and in the part of Carlow under Heron's rule. He also got a lease of some of the lands of North Wexford, as follows: the lands and Manor of Clohamon and the two towns attached, (probably Clohamon and Ballinapark), Ballybeg, Kiltilly, Ballycadden, Borris (in Kilrush), Ballinaberney, the two Graigues, Ballygoone (?), Bolegorcha, Ballyvangan (?), Ballypark, Cahirsuyne (?), Coolmealagh, Ballymhicwalter, and the Abbey of Downe lands (near Clonegal). The fact that he was found to be a traitor 'in

Gateway of Borris Castle, Kilrush

collusion with the rebels' a short time afterwards might indicate that he was trying to insinuate himself into the good graces of the Kavanaghs in order to gain possession of the lands mentioned.

Probably through the efforts of Stukely in his early days as Seneschal, the surrender and regrant policy continued. During this time the Coolnaleen Kavanaghs, Maurice an Iarainn, and his brothers Crimthinn, Gerald, and Art along with their cousin, Donal McDermot of Clonhenret (Clanhanrick), were pardoned.

But the medicine they were being asked to take was too abhorrent to the Kavanaghs and when Sir Edmond Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormonde went into rebellion because of the loss of lands in the Carew case, (lands granted in the early part of the century by the Kavanaghs to James Butler who was the son of Sadbh Kavanagh), the clansmen were only too glad to throw in their lot with him. Carew, at Leighlin, was ordered to attack the rebels and this he did by taking a castle at Clogrennane and then attacking Kilkenny city, which was defended by two thousand men including forces from Ui Cinnsealaigh led by the Kavanaghs. Carew defeated the rebels and four hundred of them were killed, including a number of prominent Kavanaghs - Donal and Donough Og McDonough of Borrishamon, Donough McDermot McCahir of Ballinvalley, and Cahir McArt McDowling of Tincurry.

When the rebellion was put down, Butler was arrested but was released shortly afterwards on the orders of his brother the Earl, who enjoyed almost unlimited favour at court. Queen Elizabeth's mother Ann Boleyn, was either a first cousin or a niece of the Ormondes. Peace was restored to Ui Cinnsealaigh.

The peace however was short lived, as in the following year, 1569, Sir Edmond was again out in rebellion aided by the Kavanaghs and James Fitzmaurice, the son of the Earl of Kildare. They attacked the town of Enniscorthy and plundered the merchants who were attending the famous Fair. According to one commentator 'They committed rape and murder and carried off a great booty including steeds, horses, gold, silver, and foreign wares. Many of these merchants had come from Wexford and had travelled up the Slaney, (August 15th). Prior to this they had raided the castle of Leighlin and killed seven of the defenders. The Earl of Ormonde took the brothers who were his kinsmen under his protection and stated that their actions had been provoked by the unjust claims of Sir Peter Carew. He later declared to the council that Sir Ed. Butler was mad. Stukely had joined the rebellion early in the summer and was captured in June and held in Dublin Castle on the charge of treason

and felony done by him and others on May 27th. He spent eighteen weeks in jail and got bail in October. He was pardoned on November the 16th. Concerning the rebellion Sydney wrote to London and stated that the Kavanaghs who had been out in the rebellion were still up in arms and suggested that it would cost £1,200 to implement "an extraordinary device for their EXTIRPATION'.

Thomas Masterson a native of Chesire was appointed as Constable of the Castle of Ferns. He also purchased Heron's interest in the Abbey lands of Ferns which he took possession of, despite the opposition of the Kavanaghs. He first came to Ireland during the term of Sir Edward Bellingham (1548/50) and was patronised by Francis Knollys, Knollys or Knowlles was a knight and occupied the position of Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household and must have been a very influential person.

According to Nicholls, Maurice Duff McDermot (a grandson of Maurice Kavanagh, King of Leinster and a great grandson of Donal Reagh living at Clonhanrick, near Ferns) who had been pardoned in 1553, was killed by Thomas Masterson sometime before June of 1569.

The following were named as having taken part in the Enniscorthy raid - McCarthy Mor (late Earl of Clanrickarde) the Butlers Sir Edward and Piers, their kinsmen Piers and James sons of Lord Mountgarret, James and John, sons of Edward Butler of Grallaghe? James and John, sons of Ed. Butler of Polleston and James Fitzgerald the son of Sir Morish Fitzdesmond the White Knight. The Lord Deputy was obliged to spend eleven weeks longer in those parts than he intended and had to appoint the Earl of Kildare with 1000 soldiers to protect the Pale in his absence.

At the end of February the Butler brothers made humble submission to the council and were committed to Dublin Castle to await her Majesty's pleasure.

On the 16th May the complaint by the Kavanaghs against Sir Thos. Masterson of an undue burden of extra spearmen, twelve above the one hundred and twenty due, was upheld by the council who consulted some learned men of the area, one an O'Doran (a brehon) and an O'Bolguidhir. Apparently the wages and upkeep of that number of soldiers was an exaction on the Kavanaghs who lived about Ferns.

On the 20th May Nicholas White was given a lease of the lands of St. John's and commissioned to execute martial law in the county. Masterson was appointed as High Sherriff of Wexford. In June of this year there was an agreement between the deputy Sydney and

the Irish including Cahir McAirt, of Clonmullen, Cahir O'Doran and Anthony Peppard. The terms of this agreement had to do with the division of lands and the payments to be made to the owners of the church and royal lands.

Sydney also agreed to discharge the bonnaught and all other cesses and impositions in return for their commitment to the surrender and regrant policy and payment of 80 marks yearly plus 13 fat bullocks to be given to the Constable of Ferns and 13 good sheep, 13 pecks of oats and food for 13 kerne and 6 boys. In addition they had to supply 8 ploughs with men and horses to till and sow wheat and supply 40 labourers to cut wood one day in summer and 40 horses and drivers to draw in the timber.

Donal the son of Dermot McMuiris who had already been pardoned on 1553 and in 1567 was one of the captains of the Kavanaghs who submitted at Leighlin and gave hostages. Another captain who gave his nephew as his hostage, was Brian McMoriertagh of the Tincurry and Ballindonney line, the 5th son of Murtagh who was the 3rd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, and yet another captain was Cahir Beg McMoriertagh of Cournellan and the Leverock, a descendant of Art More. The hostage given by Donal McDermot was his nephew Brian McMuiris of Knockangarrow whose father Maurice Duff had been slain by Masterson the previous year. Another captain of the Kavanaghs was Brian McMoriertagh (the 5th son of Murtagh who was the second son of Dermot Lamhdearg). He gave as his hostage his nephew Tirlough McMurrough who apparently was killed later because of clan misdoings. Muiris an Iarainn and his brothers Gerald McMurrough and Art McMurrough and Criomthainn, sons of Murrough who had been hanged at Leighlin in 1557, were pardoned in this year along with Donal McDermot Kavanagh and his brother Cahir McDermot, of Clonhenret, their cousins. The two latter were brothers of Maurice Duff slain by Masterson in 1569. It might be noted here also that their sister was married to McEochardh of Tomcoyle of the poetic family while another cousin, a grand daughter of Crimthinn who had been slain by Enna Cinnseallach, was married to Lughaidh McMaolmhuire Mor McKeoch also of the poetic family. Another to be pardoned was Maurice McDonnell a great grandson of Dermot Laimhdeirg with an address as of Rathgarroge.

Others to be pardoned were Tirlough McCahir McArt (Polmonty) who was married to Robert Browne's sister, his brother Art McCahir McArt of Ballynabranagh who was married to a daughter of Maurice the McMurrough who died in 1531, Criffen McCahir of

Ballynabearna, Murtagh McCahir of Lissalican, his second cousin Murrough McMuiris (Murrough the son of Maurice the 6th son of Dermot Lamhdeirg) residing it appeared at Ballyleigh, Maurice Bui McDonnell Reagh of Booladuragh (the son of the man who had been levying tolls on the Barrow in 1537), and Gerald McCahir Carragh, of Clonmullen, chief of the sept of Art Bui. According to Goff twolesser Irish septs, under Kavanagh control the McDavymores and the McVaddocks, of north and east Wexford, agreed to the surrender and regrant of their lands.

In March of 1571 the Lord Chancellor writing to H.M. stated that the Kavanagh and Kinsellagh septs were ready to surrender their lands and hold them from the Queen. Sydney agreed with Bryan McCahir McAirt of Ballyann on behalf of other chiefs of the sept in St. Mullins, Clanhanrick (Ballycarney - Ferns) and Fasagh Slebuoy (Askamore Ballyellis, etc.) to the surrender and regrant of castles and manors in return for freedom from bonnaught and cesses and other exactions. In addition they were to pay 52 marks yearly and supply 3 horsemen and 6 kerne at hostings, and 13 marks and 13 bushels of corn at such time and place as were appointed. Brian gave his brother Crimthinn as a hostage.

In May a memorandum noted that Stukely had enticed Maurice Kavanagh Duff late of Knockangarrye, Griffen Kavanagh McMurgho (of Coolnaleen, son of Murrough who had been hanged at Leighlin) and Walter (a 2nd cousin called Water Gallde) late of Trodare, (Note: this was probably a description of their occupation - professional fighting men) Kernagh (Kern) and other Irish enemies, to rob cattle from Katherine Kavanagh of Ballygarret, widow, (30 cattle) and goods and cattle from Donough O'Kinnselagh of Ballyngate (including horses and 2 coats of mail, armour and lead).

Donough ONetty McDonough Onetty Kavanagh of Coolnaleen was pardoned together with Donal McDermot of Clonhenret, brother of Maurice Duff slain in 1569, two sons of Maurice Duff, Dermot McMuiris of Knockangarrow (now called Camolin Park) and Brian McMuiris who had been a hostage for his uncle Donal in 1570. Cahir McDermot of Clonhenret (Clanhanrick) was also pardoned. Another to be pardoned was Dermot McCahir McArt the eldest son of Cahir McArt, Baron of Ballyann who had no legitimate heirs but two natural sons. He resided at Polmonty. Also pardoned in this year were Tirlough a brother of Brian McCahir who married a sister of Robert Browne of Mulrankin, and his brother Crimthinn McCahir who was a hostage for Brian in the following year, and his brother Murtough of Lisseilican. As no further notices of pardons to

Crimthinn appear it would seem that following his having been given as a hostage he was put to death when his brother broke out in rebellion once more. A pardon was given to Donal Reagh McMorough Baccach, as of Polmonty, who had been pardoned previously in 1566.

The new deputy William Fitzwilliam framed new laws for the better governing of the country which were not at all liked by the Irish. They began to 'play their pageants', as Hooker said, and first in the fray was Bryan MacCahir Kavanagh of Knocking in County Carlow. He was the son of Cahir the son of Arthur who had been made a baron by King Henry VIII. He stated he had suffered certain injuries from Robert Browne of Malkenram (Mulrankin in Wexford) and commenced a series of outrages and devastations in the country, burning some towns and killing Browne. The gentlemen of Wexford and Sir Nicholas Devereux his uncle in particular being aggrieved, as Ryan says, rose in arms against the Kavanaghs Bryan Mac Cahir gathered a force and in a pitched battle he overcame the opposition though with inferior numbers. Thirty gentlemen of the county of Wexford were killed on that occasion. Thomas Masterson it might be noted, barely escaped with his life by jumping up behind another horseman. The differences gradualy died away. Some historians date this encounter a year later in 1572 and the action took place near Dunbrody, in the barony of Shelburne. Bryan McCahir was assisted by Fiach McHugh O'Byrne and Walter Galde Kavanagh grandson of Grald, King of Leinster who had died in 1523, and the Furlongs. One Matthew Furlong, in particular appeared to play a central role in this pageant. Walter Gallde was reared by the Furlongs in the Wexford Pale and was therefore tied to them by kinship. Matthew Furlong had come to Browne's notice for seveal reasons, including robbery and Browne was intent upon prosecuting him. It is probable that Walter Gallde instigated the incursion into Forth and Bargy by the Kavanaghs, which resulted in the death of Browne.

When Nicholas White, whom it will be remembered was an influential Government official and an enemy of the Kavanaghs returned from England where he had business, he was furious about the death of his son in law and ordered the perpetrators 'to be put beyond the pale of Pardon".

It is interesting to note that Brian's brother Tirlough was married to a sister of Robert Brown of Mulrankin, and one of his daughters to William Browne who inherited the estates of the murdered man, but this probably occured much later. It is also noteworthy that Brian himself was married to Elinor Fiach McHugh O'Byrne's sister.

The Devereux family also contracted marriage ties with the Kavanaghs, presumably to protect their interests and lands. Bryan was also related to the Fitzgeralds of Kildare as his father Cahir McArt had married Alicia daughter of The Earl of Kildare. And another interesting later marriage tie was the marriage of his daughter to Donal Spainnigh Kavanagh of the Clonmullen line.

By August according to Hore, the chieftains of Glenmalure and St. Mullins were reduced to such straits that they offered to capture Matthew Furlong and others, but White could not be conciliated and the Kavanaghs, Byrnes and Furlongs were forced to retaliate.

Maurice an Iarainn McMurrough of Coolanleen who had been pardoned in 1567, and in 1570 was dead by this year. He may well have been involved in the fracas mentioned above. Donal Reagh McMoroghe Backagh (Baccach) who was the son of Murrough Baccach (the son of Gerald who was the son of Art McDermot Layard (who had been given the horse by the Earl of Kildare) who in turn was the son of Dermot Lamhdeirg,) was pardoned. This Donal Reagh resided at Polmonty and was married to a daughter of McVadock. Another Donal Reagh who was pardoned in this year wa an uncle of the man already referred to above. He had been mentioned in 1537 for exacting excessive tolls from boatmen using the Barrow. His son Maurice Bui McDonnell Reagh was also pardoned as of Boladurragh, having been pardoned in 1566, and in 1570. Others to be pardoned were Edmond McMurrough McMoriertagh of Curaduff of Sliocht Dhiarmada Laimhdheirg, and his cousin Art McDermot and Dowling McDermot of Curraduff. Dowling the only son of Brain McMoriertagh of Tincurry was pardoned also.

At this time a contemporary writer (possibly Masterson) wrote a note on the Kavanaghs and stated that there were only three men of note - Brian McCahir and Muriertagh Og Kavanagh of Garryhill (married to a sister of Bryan) and Careduff (Cahir Dubh) Kavanagh of Clonmullen (an uncle of Donal Spainnigh). This was probably the man who built the castle at Carrigduff in what is now Bunclody and later writers not being aware of his existence assumed the name of the area to be Carrigduff (Black rock). The writer stated that they were not able to pay eight horsemen but that they employed foot thieves to steal from the settlers. He also noted that there was enemity between them.

By 1572, following the surrender and regrant signing of the previous year, the crown properties in the barony of Scarawalsh were in the hands of two men: Richard Sinnott, residing at

Ballybrennan held leases of Enniscorthy manor and friary lands, the lands of Clohamon and Downe and the lands of Donal O'Morrow (attainted), while Masterson residing at Ferns had the lease of the manor and abbey lands. Both men were patentee officers of the crown and they were related by marriage. Sinnott's son Walter was married to Masterson's daughter Mary.

In this year also Stukely embarked for Spain and brought with him Donal Kavanagh, later called Donal Spainneach.

It was noted by a contemporary writer of the time that there was great traffic yearly between Spain and Ireland. He estimated that at least 600 sailing ships called to Irish ports yearly.

As usual pardons were issued in this year. Brian McDonnell McDonough the grandson of Donough the eldest son of Dermot Lamhdearg, Cahir McDonough Og, another grandson of Donough, Donough McCrimthinn of Ballybeg and his brother Dermot.

Brian McCahir McArt sued for peace in 1573, probably through the good offices of Sir Peter Carew with whom he had become quite friendly, (Ryan) and was pardoned. According to the Carew papers Carew himself was not in Carlow at this time as his agent Hoker or Vowell while writing to him to come over stated that the Kavanaghs were muttering against him (Carew) and saying that he would not come amongst them again.

Walter Galde Kavanagh was mentioned in dispatches as being part of a group of robbers who stole sheep from Nic Devereux Knight of Ballymagir.

Pardons were given to Brian Carragh McDonough of Sliocht Diarmuid Laimhderg who had been pardoned in 1560, and his brother Gerald, both from Clonleigh and Ballyann. Francis Agarde was mentioned as being in charge of the Kavanaghs and the O'Byrnes. Others to be pardoned were Dermot Ower McMorogh Baccach, as of Knockin, and his brothers Dowling and Edmond McMorogh Bacach, Art McCahir McArt, Murtough McCahir McArt and their sister Una Ni Cahir McArt.

There was still unrest in the whole of the district and we find in 1574 Nic Duff Kavanagh, McDonagh of Mangan and Cahir McJames McBrane of the Duffry, horsemen came and murdered Piers Sinnott of Curacloe. In the Nicholls genealogy of the Kavanaghs there is no mention of any Nic Duff Kavanagh which only confirms his remarks that the genealogies are definitely incomplete. The Peter Sinnott in question was in all probability a relation of the lawyer Richard Sinnott.

Brian McCahir died the following year as did Sir Peter Carew.

Carew was buried at Ross and Brian at St. Mullins. Richard Sinnott was appointed over the O'Morchoes (this is taken to mean the O'Morchoes or Murphys who lived around Oulart, a village near Wexford town) as their ruler or captain and it was noted that Masterson had the Kavanaghs of Ferns in good obedience. In this year Donal Kavanaghs lands centred around what is now Clonegal, were forfeited following his attainder and were granted to Richard Sinnott. This Donal must have been the grandson of Gerald Sutton Kavanagh who had been a constable of Ferns castle earlier in the century. Donal was killed sometime in the early 70's. Cahir Duff McDonough of Clonmullen who was married 1st to a daughter of Brian McDonough Kavanagh of Ballyloughan and 2nd to a sister of Fiach McHugh, and who was a 2nd cousin of Donal Spainnigh was pardoned.

To sum up the happenings of this very important epoch in the clan history it can be seen that from 1555 to 1575 the Crown forces, spearheaded by the military adventurers, redoubled their efforts in Ui Chinnsealaigh with considerable successes.

In the south of the district, Anthony Colclough, strategically placed at Tintern Abbey, near Ross, curbed the ambition and power of Brian McCahir the warlike son of Cahir McArt who became the de facto leader of the Kavanaghs and the McMurrough in all but name.

The despicable Heron who killed many of the Kavanaghs treacherously, among them notably, Art Bui of Clonmullen, planted himself at Ferns and despite the best efforts of the Coolnaleen Kavanaghs, who were thoroughly demoralised by the brutal execution of Murrough the McMurrough, and twenty four of his chief men, succeeded in holding the castle. Like many of the aventurers of the age Heron was unscrupulous and used all his conniving powers to achieve his ends. He parleyed with and manipulated the Kavanaghs to suit his purposes. After his death he was succeeded by the equally unscrupulous Stukely and later Nicholas White.

In Wicklow the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles had to contend with the attentions of Captain Wingfield and his troopers, who like his Wexford counterparts used all the amoral means at his disposal to cajole, cow and lead them to the acceptance of English Law.

Sir Peter Carew backed up his claim to the Kavanaghs lands in Co. Carlow with a legal document from the Crown chancellor and with force of arms and took up residence in Leighlin castle with a considerable force which was augmented by the forces of the Deputy who came into the area to enforce the claim. Following the defeat of

the Kavanagh/Butler alliance, the Kavanaghs of Garryhill, under much pressure agreed to pay rents as tenants to Carew provided they were left undisturbed as tenants. This was agreed to and Carew was left unmolested. He spent considerable time in England and the Kavanaghs did not regard him as a threat to themselves.

The Priory of Glascarrig near the Wexford coast, was granted to Sir Walter Peppard of Kilkea Cstle in Co. Kildare but he made no attempt to take possession of it during his own lifetime and it wa left to his widow and son Anthony to come to Wexford to lay claim to the property. Initially the Peppard's met with much hostility but by their native insidiousness they managed to arrange a marriage beetween Peppard and Maeve Kavanagh of Coolnaleen the daughter of Murrough who was hanged, drawn and quartered at Leighlin. The safety of their property was thus assured.The Kavanaghs used Peppard in like manner and he became a champion of their cause for some time.

Like a wounded lion that lashes out in all directions, the Kavanaghs seized every opportunity that presented itself to wreak havoc on the English officials, their forces and their tenants.The Crown responded by appointing other more seasoned, more vicious and more ambitious officials. One such man who was the catalyst for the destruction of the Kavanaghs as a power in Leinster and indeed in Ui Chinnsealaigh, was Thomas Masterson who was appointed as Constable of the Castle of Ferns.

Without such men, the policies of the Crown in Ireland would never have succeeded. Men such as Thomas Masterson were hardy, ruthless and totally without any conscience. And his wife was equally tough and despotic. According to Deirdre Kavanagh in her thesis 'Monastic Dissolution in Co. Wexford' the effect of Masteron's rule and his wife's cruelty were remembered by the people of Ferns as late as 1748. She says: "An anonymus writer, writing on Ireland in that year, was told the following lurid tale about Ferns castle by the locals.

"This castle once belonged to Catherine de Clare who for many years committed most horrid murders here under the countenance of friendship, hospitality and good nature. She would invite several of the rich inhabitants in order to entertain them and when they were in their mirth and jollity, sink them through a trap door and cut their throats".

The Crown policies began to have effect in the area of Religion also. Some Kavanagh families began to accept the New Religion and this can be seen in the appointment of Daniel Kavanagh as the

Bishop of Leighlin in 1567 and even more so in the decision of Brian McCahir of Borris to send his children to England to be educated.

Two interesting developments which were probably unforseen by the Government officials arose as a result of the religious persecution of Catholics - one was the Desmond rebellion which spilled over into Ui Chinnsealaigh and resulted in the Kavanaghs and their allies the O'Byrnes and the Furlongs and Keatings (disaffected Old English from the Pale of Forth and Bargy) and the Butlers attacking settlers and tenants of the New English adventurers, and the other was the intermarrying of Old English families with the Irish.

# Chapter 10

# In The Melting Pot

WHILE THE overall thrust of the Crown policy in relation to the land continued apace, there was much unrest in Ui Cinnsealaigh that made itself evident in the continued and unabated harassment of the tenants of the English leasees and purchasers.

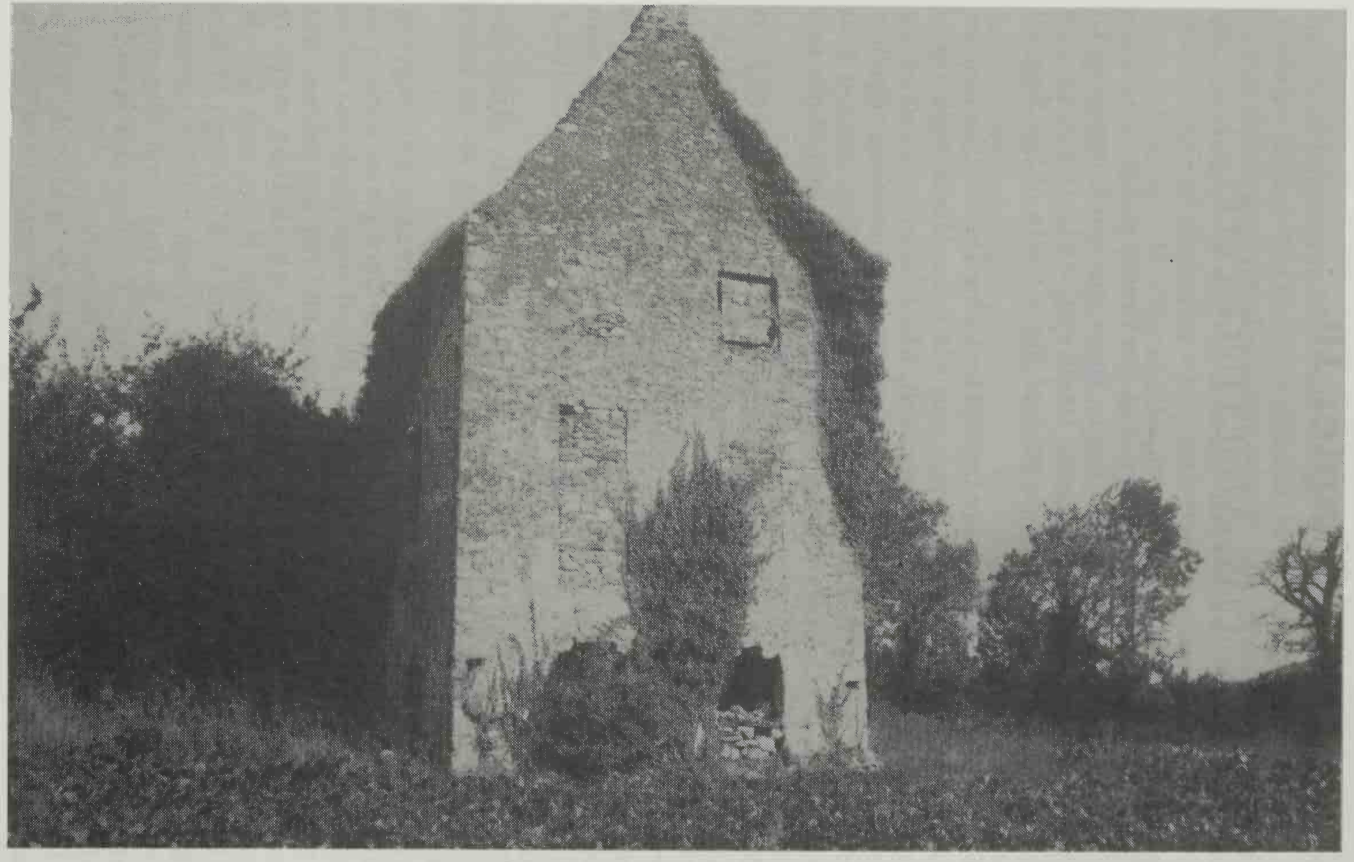
Ferns Abbey and castle were burned by Cahir Duff of Clonmullen, aided by Fiach McHugh O'Byrne and his men. Moriertagh Og of Garryhill, and Walter Gallde Kavanagh, who had been raised by the Furlongs in the Wexford Pale, were accused of spreading rebellion and treason and advocating open war. It was further alleged that they preyed on the property of all who would not join them and wounded many good subjects of the Queen.

Many alleged outrages were catalogued as occuring in 1577. It was stated that Tirlough McBrian McDowling, Donagh McArt McDowling and Donal McGerailt, all Kavanaghs went with their kern to Whitwell in Toome, Scarawalsh, and stole from Charles Doran and abducted Catherine Ni Ghearailt. Donal Spainneach was accused of stealing 600 catte and horses from the tenants of a man called Fitzharris, who lived in the Barony of Shelburne and killed a man called Neville and other husbandmen.

This was the first mention of Donal Spainneach, since his departure to Spain with Stukely five years earlier, so we must assume he arrived home about this time.

As already stated the Crown policy of surrender and regrant continued and many individual Kavanaghs were given pardon as part of the process. Some of the men pardoned were pardoned before as of different addresses and the surrender and regrant process was gone through for each parcel of land of which they were in possession. Maurice McDonal of Rathgarroge, Brian and Gerald McDonough of Clonleigh and Ballyanne, Donal McMurrough McAirt of Ballyanne, Edmond McMurrough McMoriertagh and his brothers Gerald, Donal and Art, of Rahtpaidinbui, Dermot and Donough McBrian of Tincurry, and their cousins Art, Dowling and Maurice McDermot of Ballyroebuck, in the parish of Kilrush.

The following year the Lord Justices went on a circuit, with a considerable army and forced the submission of many of the leading



Carrigduff Castle, built by Cahir Duff Kavanagh of Clonmullen alias Careduff Kavanagh

men of the Kavanaghs, at Carlow. Cahir Duff of Clonmullen, submitted and gave two hostages and Walter Gallde surrendered to Drury at Kilkenny. The Keatings who had been in intermittent rebellion, promised likewise to give hostages.

The situation was further exacerbated by a dispute between the Ryans and the Kavanaghs in Idrone. From time immemorial the Ryans had been paying some kind of 'accustomable cheverie' and with the advent of Carew into the equation they refused to pay the Kavanaghs and applied to the Earl of Ormonde for protection against them.

All was not well in the northern borderland either and Fiach McHugh was under pressure also, having been badly harassed the previous year. He sent in a letter to Drury who succeeded Sydney as Deputy and offered submission. He blamed Thomas Masterson and Sir Peter Carew (a nephew of the Sir Peter who claimed Idrone and who died in 1575) for being his adverseries and for stealing his cattle. He was invited to Dublin to submit, which he did at Christchurch. Some of the Kavanaghs submitted on the same day, namely Morrish McBryan Kavanagh of Polmonty, and Cahir Duff. Hostages were given at a later date, but as the Byrnes went into rebellion shortly afterwards the hostages suffered the ultimate penalty.

Lord Deputy Drury visited Wexford, the next year, leaving Dublin on February 24th and arriving in Wexford on March 1st, travelling by the coast. He 'visited' Hugh McShane the father of Fiach en route and must have diverted to do so. Sir Henry Wallop came to Ireland in this year and was appointed Vice Treasurer at War in Ireland. In November Lord Justice Pelham sent 100 English soldiers under the command of Captain Thomas Denham to defend Enniscorthy from the attacks of the Irish. Gerald McMurrough of Coolnaleen, 3rd son of Murrough Kavanagh the McMurrough (executed in 1557), having entered into rebellion during the government of Sir William Drury, (April 1578 - Sept. 1579) was captured by Thomas Masterson and executed on Drury's orders.

Masterson noted that in August of this year that the Kavanaghs assembled themselves with the Moores and Connors to the number of 300 men and threatened to burn and despoil all the lands and buildings around Ferns unless a hostage being held there were released. Masterson himself was in Munster with Sir Wm Drury on an expedition against the Geraldines and his son saw fit to release the hostage into the charge of Richard Synnot of Wexford. The Geraldine Rebellion in question was the religious revolt that occured

following the return of James FitzMaurice. The religious revolt of James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass was initiated in this year also and he was aided by the O'Byrnes and the Kavanaghs. This was the reason Gerald of Coolnaleen was executed.

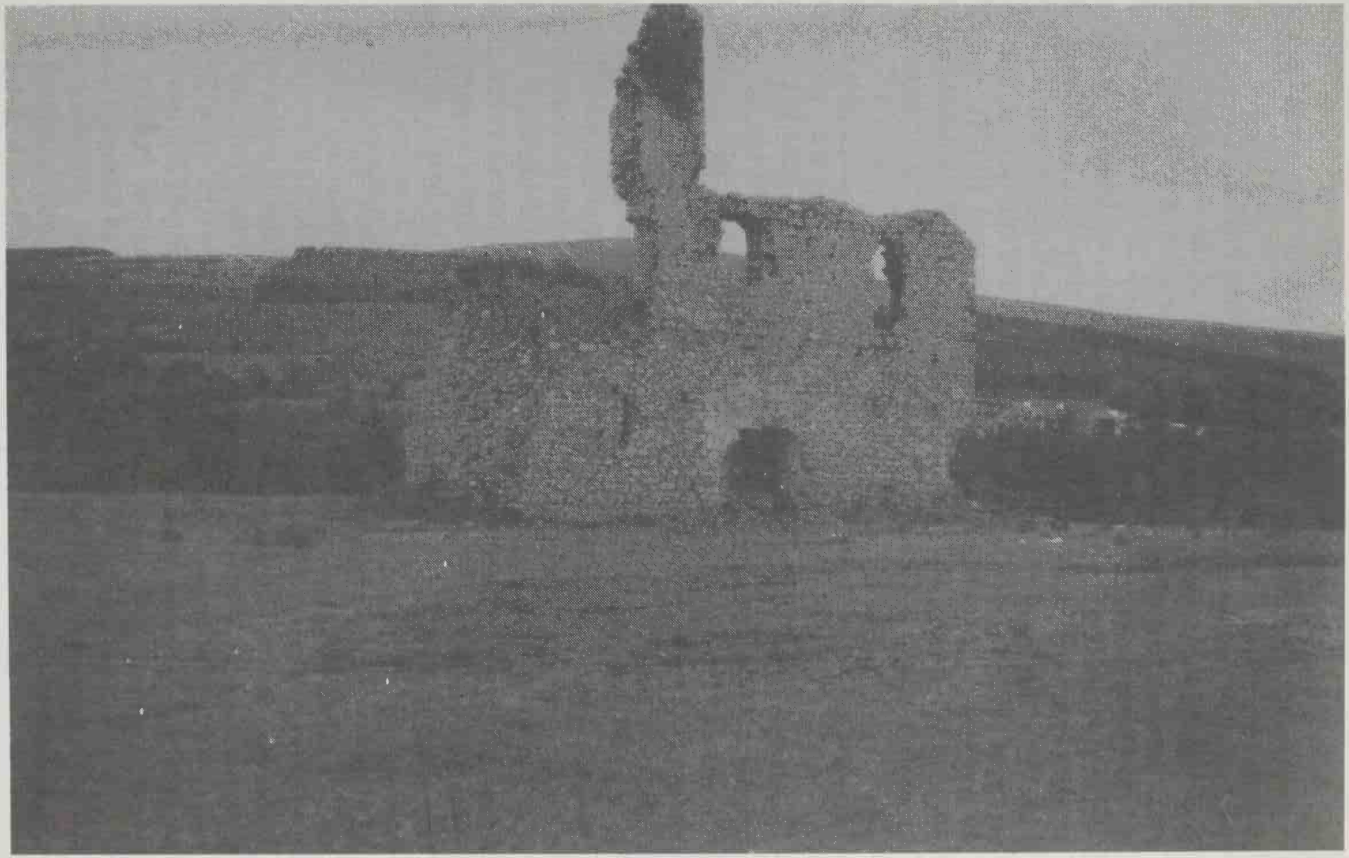
In the following year 1580, Masterson accused the Kavanaghs (Sept of Art Bui) of being in companies waiting and spying about the Slaney upon the merchants and people of Wexford (travelling there with their boats and their men to seek a living) and the said sept robbed and spoyled many of tham.

Walter Synott of Farrolstown (Shelmalier E.) High Sheriff of Wexford was killed in a battle with the Kavanaghs. His grandfather, Richard Synott of Ballybrennan was a commissioner for mustering armed forces. He purchased Edmond Spenser's lease of Enniscorthy and sold it to Lord Portsmouth's ancestor Sir Henry Wallop. (Some of the lands of Enniscorthy are still in the possession of the descendants of the Portsmouths). Masterson said he killed and hanged sixty of the Kavanaghs in this battle.

Nicholls notes that Criffen McArt Boy grandson of Murtagh eldest son of Art Bui was named as one of the sept of Art Boy (King of Leinster who died in 1517). He also states that Moriertagh McArt Boy, Criffen's eldest brother 'a notorious traitor' was putto death by Piers Fitzedmond Butler of Roscrea (well known as the father of Wallenstein's slayer, Walter).

Cahir Duff Kavanagh was dead by this year and Moriertagh Kavanagh of Garryhill, who resided at Rathnageeragh Castle was chosen to be King of Leinster but refused the title. He was a grandson of Muriertagh Og Kavanagh of Garryhill, who was the eldest son of Murrough Balloch, King of Leinster who died in 1511.

In an effort to curb the O'Byrne support for the Baltinglass rebellion, Crown forces under Lord Grey de Wilton made an attack on the Byrnes in Glenmalure and received a severe repulse. It was during this attack that Sir Peter Carew the younger was killed. The Kavanaghs of North Wexford made many sporadic attacks on Masterson's tenants. According to Nicholas White, Masterson hanged some of the Kavanaghs who were under protection, and Colclough of Tintern complained to the Council about Masterson's underhand dealings with the Kavanaghs. In a letter of 24th April, Edward Waterhouse, Secretary to the Lord deputy said that Masterson had killed 40 Kavanaghs 'very loose and bad people' but the worst called Donagh Spaniard had escaped. Donal complained to the Earl of Ormond under whose protection he and his people were, and Ormond (who was connected to the Kavanaghs) was so grieved



Rathnageeragh Castle

that he wanted Masterson to pay with his life. He also noted that Fiach McHugh had threatened to attack Masterson in revenge, but a peace had been arranged for 13 days.

Masterson in his own defence wrote to his patron Sir Francis Knollys itemising the 'robberies and murders' of the clan and stating his side of the case. The killing of the Kavanaghs (59 according to himself) occured on the 10th April. He claimed he knew nothing of the Protection of the Earl of Ormonde. He further claimed that while he was in Dublin, delivering up prisoners he was detained there to answer for his acts, and in his absence the Kavanaghs burned and despoiled his lands. He lists 49 separate raids and offences cojmitted by the Kavanaghs under Donal Spainneach (see list at end of chapter). It would appear from this account, that Donal and his men travelled the length and breadth of the county, attacking, burning and robbing in revenge for the killing of his people.

Walter Gallde, the son of Murrough McGerrot Kavanagh who descended from Gerald, McMurrough, King of Leinster who was the 4th son of Art Bui of Enniscorthy, McMurrough, King of Leinster, was hanged at Wexford in June, 1581, during the visit of Lord Deputy Grey who left Wexford on the 9th of June and arrived in Ross on the 11th Crimthainn McCahir McArt submitted to Lord Grey at St. Mullins. The Deputy then proceeded to Ferns. He was met by Donal Spainneach somewhere between the two places and Donal offered to submit on certain conditions, but these conditions were unacceptable to the Deputy. He then left forces at Ferns and proceeded on his way having taken submission and hostages from Edmond Duff of the Kinsellaghs. He says that the next day, Masterson and his force killed 17 of the sept of Art Bui and captured 3 of the principal men who were presented to Grey in his camp in the O'Byrnes country.

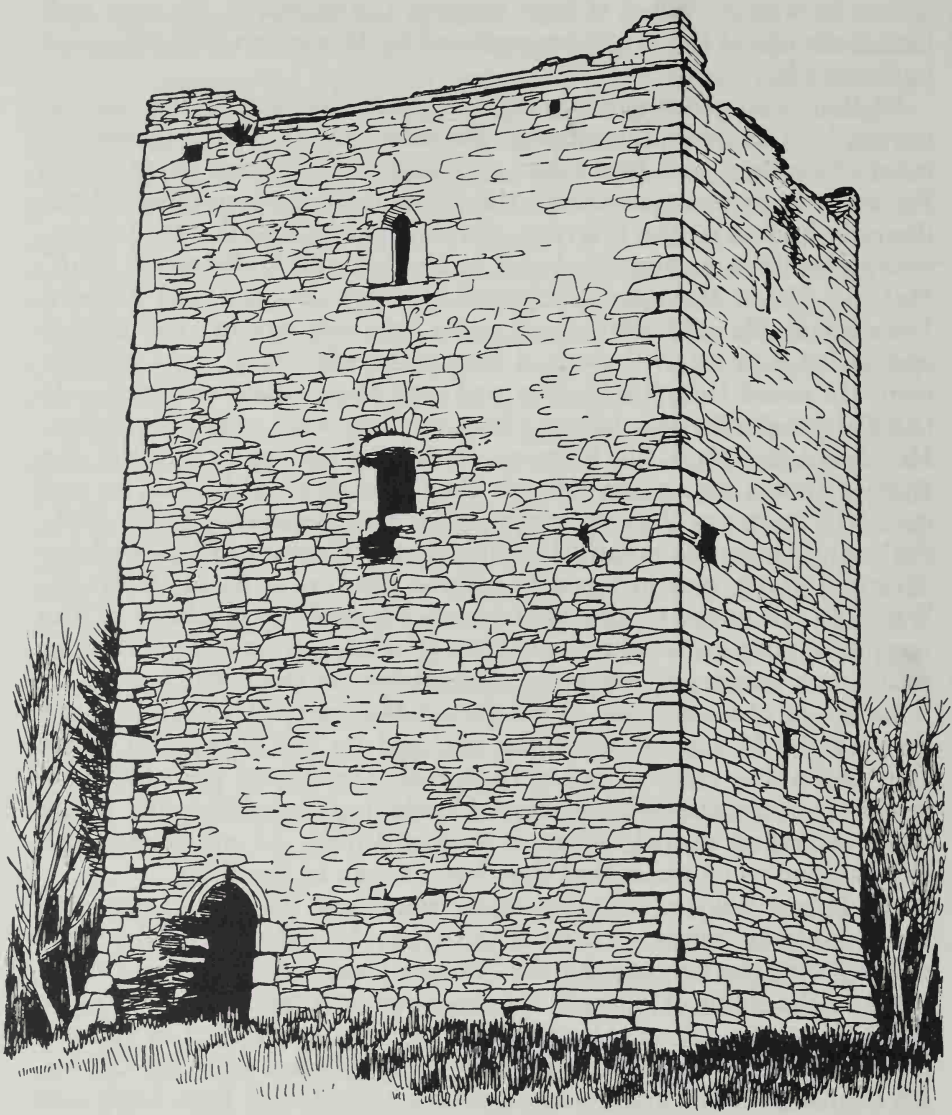
Donough Onetty McDonough Onettye Kavanagh of Coolnaleen was pardoned along with Donough McCrephon (McCriomthainn) of Clonhenret and Criffin McCurrough (McCaragh). Criffin (Criomthainn) McMurrough Kavanagh of Coolnaleen the 2nd son of Murrough who was executed at Leighlin in 1557 was pardoned with all his followers, although he had taken part in the rebellion of Feagh McHugh and had been 'in election to be King of Leinster'. He received letters patent of appointment as 'principal captain and chief of his name, called the sept and company of Donnell Reagh Kavanagh, great grandfather of the said Crephon'. However after his pardon and appointment as chief he was incautious enough, as Nicholls says, to assist in the escape of Baltinglass from Ireland and

following his arrest by Thomas Masterson, constable of Ferns Castle and a mortal enemy of his sept, he was sent a prisoner to Dublin where he was convicted of high treason and executed. He may well have been one of the prisoners captured by Masterson and presented to Grey in his camp.

Wallop, who accompanied Grey, wrote to England to the Council telling him of their adventures. He said that they had quietened most of Wexford and had taken submission from three septs of the Kavanaghs. By these he meant the Kinsellaghs, (which included the districts known as the Morroes, the McVadocks and the McAmores, whose leaders appear to have been Dermot McEdmond Duff, McDavy More, McVadock, Edmond O'Bolgy (Bolger) and Richard Fitzsimons. He said they made great progress against the Byrnes and killed 9 or 10 of their best men although losing some of their own. He noted that the Byrnes had sent their cattle and horses to the Kavanaghs for safe keeping because they were under protection. He also noted that the Kavanaghs would not serve against the Byrnes in the campaign though they had promised to do so and quite the contrary they were spying for the Byrnes on the English. Following Grey's departure Harrington the Captain of the Wicklow 'Byrne district was ordered to offer a pardon to Fiach McHugh. When Fiach came to the conference he made a mockery of the pardon saying he would never take it while he lived and that he could get a pardon whenever he pleased despite the Lord Deputy.

Later in the summer (30th June) Masterson, who had been granted the Manor of Clohamon, claimed he had killed 200 of the clan whom they came across in the forest. These were probably some members of the clan who were on a 'booleying' expedition and would have included mainly women and children. At any event the Englishmen could boast that they lost no man in the 'fight'.

Sir Henry Wallop, who had lately come into the county, wrote to the Deputy to acquaint him of the type of Englishmen who were dealing with the Kavanaghs. Sir Thomas Colclough, who had got the grant of the lands of Tintern, he described as a man of great wealth and living, who got no salary from the Crown as opposed to Thomas Masterson who had no other income except his fees from the Crown. He continues 'such ambytyon I fynde amongst oure fewe Inglysshe that inhabyt here, as no two of them that dwell within 20 myles (of each other) can agree together, - they had nothing when they came hether, yet they accompt themselves great pasonages here.' Wallop in a further letter states the composition of the Crown forces in the troubled area. He notes that the Deputy had left large forces of



Artist's impression of Clonmullen castle

footmen and horsemen in Wicklow to counteract Fiach McHugh, and the forces he had left in Ferns were dwindled to 40 due to sickness and having been killed. Masterson had 20 horsemen and 40 Kerne. It would appear from this letter that Masterson was removed from the office of Seneschal because of 'some disorders committed and the general myslyke the country hath of him'. In a later letter of this year Wallop expressed his regret that H.M. saw fit to offer pardons to 'such notorious rebels as are in all places in this lande...who had sworn themselves to the Pope and Spanyarde....in my mynde the first means to reduce Ireland into subjection must be to extirpate those generations of Vypers owt of Lempster viz., the Kavanaghs, Obernes and Otooles, OMurres (O'Moores of Laois) and OConowers' (Offlay). In another letter this worthy stated 'there is no way to daunt these people but by the edge of the sworde and to plant better in their places. H.M. were better to give them over to their own government and lett them cutt one another's throats than thus to consume treasure to no purpose'.

Following the murders of the Kavanaghs by Masterson, Donal Spainneach initiated a campaign of harrassment against the tenants of Masterson, particularly in the Clohamon/Ferns area.

Cahir Duff's widow of his 2nd marriage, a sister of Fiach McHugh got married again to Teig McGillapatrick O'Connor of Offaly, thereby strengthening the ties between the Kavanaghs, Byrnes and O'Connors.

Some members of the sept were given pardons, this time for rebellious activities, including, Donal McBrian McDowling of the sept of Dowling (4th son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg) of Monamolin (near Ross). Murrough Leigh McCahir, eldest son of Cahir Beg McMoriertagh who was descended from Art Mor of the Leverock and Tinnahinch, Maurice McDermot McCahir, an illegitimate son of Cahir McArt's eldest son Dermot of Ballinvally, Murrough McMoriertagh McCahir of Knockin (near Leighlin), Morgan or Murrough McBrian McCahir of Knockeen and his brother Donough of Ballenerahyne who had with his brother and two sisters been brought up' at English schools', Katherine fitzBrien McCahir pardoned as a widow and who subsequently married Walter Devereux and her sisters Grainne, Elizabeth and Margaret of St. Mullins, Donough Og McDonough who was son of Donough the eldest son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg (d. 1511) as of Borrishamon and whose daughter was married to Edmond McMurrough McMoriertagh of Rathpaidinboy (2nd cousins), Donall and Gerald McMoroghe, brothers of Edmond, also of Rathpaidinboy, Maurice

McDermot Kavanagh of Ballendoney (near Templeudigan), and formerly of Curraduff, who was the 3rd son of Dermot the grandson of Dermot Laimhdearg (d.1511), Dowling McGerald Karagh Kavanagh of Ballybaun (Barony of Bantry) and formerly of Monamolin, who was a grandson of Dowling the 4th son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg (d.1511); Donough, Donal and Edmond McArt McDowling of Ballaman other grandsons of Dowling mentioned above and their two brothers Murrough and Gerald of Monamolin, (the last mentioned two were probably fostered in Monamolin), Maurice McDullyng the fourth son of Maurice mentioned above of Ballycadden, and his sons Donough and Criffen (Criomthainn), Brian McDowling of Monamolin and his sons Edmond and Donall, Donall McGerald, of Ballycrinnigan grandson of Edmond the 5th son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg, Cahir Carragh McDonagh McCahir of Clonmullen who was the great grandson of Moriertagh McArt Boy who was slain in 1538, and Donal Spainneach of Clomullen who had lately come home from Spain.

Nicholls noted that 'he was a very remarkable man whose career bulks largely in the State papers, especially those covering the period of the Nine Years War'. Sir George Carew, writing of him in 1600 says "there were above forty of his name to be preferred before him', (presumably better qualified by seniority and wealth under Irish law to achieve the chieftaincy) and says that 'in time of peace he is nothing to be esteemed of, but in this turbulent time of good reckoning, for that he is a good leader' Nicholls goes on "His great ambition seems to have been to restore the fortunes of his sept and to recover possession of Enniscorthy. He succeeded in the former but failed in the latter'.

The Deputy noted that while he was up in the north of the country pursuing Turlough O'Neill near Dundalk, Fiach attacked the town of Arklow, but wa repulsed with the loss of 30 men including his own brother. He further stated that Captains Harrington and Russell had gone into the Ranelaghs (Rathdrum area) and taken a prey of 1000 catle and horses and killed 30 swordsmen as well as Churls. Captains Hungerford, Mackworth and Wingfield with their forces 'made a roade upon the Kavanaghs and hapt inthe dawning of the daye to meete with one Coolen McDavy, a notorious rebell of that sept, whom they slewe with 20 of his followers' Coolen McDavy was in all probability a leader of the McDavymores who dwelt in the Macamores south of Gorey.

In another encounter the Kavanaghs and the Byrnes ambushed the English under Masterson, Cecil and Hore, but according to the

official account 50 of the Irish 'went to the pot, wee losing only 5 soldiers'. In any event the English forces were confined to the Church in Ferns following this and through scarcity of food were compelled to send their men to Wexford and Ross leaving only 20 to defend it. One night they were attacked by 400 of the Kavanagh/Byrne faction and after fierce fighting in the Church they managed to repulse them having killed 40 'amongst them three of their leaders, whose quarters the Seneschal caused to be sett upon the Church'.

According to the Deputy's report, Rusell and Masterson met one day and went into the woods of the Duffry where they encountered 100 swordsmen' whom they cutt to pieces'. He also boasted that following the winter campaign of harassment by the garrisons in Wicklow, that the Byrnes were reduced to famine and had to eat their stud horses and would surely have been beaten except that they were given pardons and the Royal troops were cashiered. He further noted his successes with the O'Toole faction of Powerscourt.

Donough Kavanagh of Clonmullen, the father of Donal Spainneach who tried for the captaincy of the Kavanaghs was captured by Sir Nicholas White and he was executed in 1583. Brian McDonnell McDonough was pardoned as of Borris Hamon (Kilrush parish). He was the grandson of Donough the eldest son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg (d. 1511). Cahir Duff's son Donough was pardoned along with Cahir's brother Donough McvDonough emongan and their sister Honora ny Donough emongan (the Mongan referred to was a district near Templeshanbo).

Anthony Peppard who was the son of Walter Peppard of Kilkea castle in Co. Kildare, and who owned Glascarrig priory lands, and who was married to Maeve the daughter of Murrough McMuiris Kavanagh of Coolnaleen wrote a long accusatory letter to the Government, complaining about the behaviour of Thomas Masterson in his dealings with the Kavanaghs. This was refuted by Masterson and in the same year the Queen confirmed him in his tenancy and constableship of Ferns and surrounding lands. The extent of the esteem in which Masterson was held, can be best gauged from his grant. He was given a sixty years lease of the castle and Manor of Ferns; 240 acres arable and pasture and 120 of wood in the town; 60 acres arable and 60 wood both in Ballymacshane and Ballyrannell; and all the rents, customs and services of the countries called Edmond Duff's, McVadocks, and McAmores; the site of the Abbey of Ferns with the Abbey lands in Ballinmote, Abbots-Garan, Monaghan and other places in the county.

It is noteworthy that the Kavanaghs got Anthony Peppard to speak for them and in his letter to the Queen he offers the lands of the three septs and countries of the Kynselagh in a surrender and regrant offer, substituting a single payment of £300 per annum instead of the prohibitive customary duties, Rents and Cesses. He further begs the Queen to forgive them the arrears due for the past three years because they were unable to work their lands due to the hardships caused by the Rebels and pointing out that the people involved were poor people. In addition he states that the Kavanaghs of Coolnaleen, Kilhobock, Farrenhamon (Kilmyshall/Templeshanbo) Kilcannon (Scarawalsh Barony), the Rower, the Leverock and St. Mullins, would come to a similar agreement if this was accepted.

In reply Masterson refuted all the allegations made by Peppard and in the final paragraph dealing with the proposed surrender and regrant of the Coolnaleen/Kilhobock lands the district of St. Mullins, Masterson points out that following the execution of Murrough the McMurrough of Coolnaleen in 1557, his lands were attainted and were rightfully the Queen's as were the ecclesiastical lands of St. Mullins. He says the Sept of Killinerle are only tenants of Sir Peter Carew being part of Idrone while the lands claimed by the Kavanaghs in the Rower were bought by the Viscount Mountgarret.

Nothing concrete seems to have come out of the correspondence, with the charges and countercharges, but Masterson was left in Ferns and in Wexford stronger than he had ever been.

Murrough Leigh McCahir who was pardoned in 1582 was attainted of treason and executed at Wexford in October, 1584, and his lands forfeited. He was the inheritor of the Leverock - an area of about 9 sq. miles in the Kilbride/Kildavin Clonegal/Ballinapark are bordering the Slaney. According to White, Master of the Rolls he also owned 16 towns standing upon the River Barrow adjoining the House of Leighlin 'where the Boats passing the river were continually robbed by those wicked Inheritors'. His lands were eventually granted to Nicholas Netterville and conveyed by him to James Butler and Lord Esmonde.

Sir Nicholas White went on a circuit of Wicklow and north Wexford and executed 48 of the 181 prisoners following trials. The lands of the Morroes (Oulart area) and the Manor of Enniscorthy were confirmed in a lease to Richard Synott of Rosegarland on the recommendation of Wallop.

# Chapter 11

# THE SWANSONG OF THE GAELS

HE GAELIC system of land ownership was well and truly being tested at this time and while some of the leaders were flowing with the tide others resisted.

Donough McCahir McArt Boy was pardoned. He was the son of Cahir who was the son of Art Boy who had killed his brother in 1533. He was a second cousin of Walter Gallde. Pardon was granted to Brian McMaurice of Knockangarrow and his brother Murrough and to Cahir Carragh McDonough McCahir of Clonmullen. Cahir Owre McCahir of Clonmullen, who was probably the 3rd son of Cahir Carragh the eldest son of Moriertagh McArt Boy slain in 1538, was himself killed in battle by the English forces. He was described as the 'only notable rebel remaining of the Kavanaghs'.

The wedding took place in the great hall of Clonmullen castle between Sadbh Kavanagh and Turlough O'Toole in 1585. According to Fr. Wall in his book 'Buncloidi' there were some peculiar circumstances that necessitated the swearing of witnesses. The following document was enclosed in a leter to the Deputy by Lord Burghley.

"four witnesses of ye marriadg of Tirloe O'Toole with Saw Kavanagh" 'Depositions taken before Mr. Thomas Materson Esq., Seneschal of Co of Wexford and Mr. Richard Synott of Ballibrenan Esq, Katherine Kavanagh of Holingate (Ballingate), sworn, deposed that Sawe Kavanagh eny (inion - daughter) Moriertagh was wedded to Terralagh O'Toole in the great hall of Clonemollin by Sir Morrish O'Curran, priest, before Terralagh did lye with the said Sawe. The cause of her knowledge is that she did lye with the said Sawe the night that she was bandfasted to the said Terralagh and was present at the wedding of them the next day following.' The other witnesses swore in the same vein.

Perhaps the most significant thing about this document is that the depositions were taken before Thomas Materson and Richard Synott, who were the main antagonists of the sept of Art Bui, indicating that at this time the Kavanaghs were accepting the English laws and were living in uneasy peace with their unwanted

neighbours.

The lands of Enniscorthy were bought by Wallop from Richard Synnott and he set about repairing the castle. Wallop as a Government official had access to all the documentation relating to the lands and he saw the huge business potential of the vast forests covering the land.

Murtagh Oge Kavanagh of Garryhill, who had refused the title of King of Leinster in 1580 and who was married to a daughter of Brian McCahir McArt was murdered by Bagenal in 1586. Bagenal's father had bought the lands of Idrone from the Carew heirs and was trying to take possession. It appears that Dudley, his son was a rash and foolish young man who declared he would kill the inhabitants of the Barony on sight and repudiated any agreements made by Peter Carew Snr., with them. Following the theft of cattle Dudley confronted Moriertagh Og, chief of the Garryhill clan, and when the cattle were not produced he promptly slew Moriertagh. The sons of Moriertagh immediately stole more of Bagenal's cattle and when he went in pursuit with a small force he was ambushed and killed. The sons of Moriertagh escaped punishment through the influence of Sir John Perrot the Deputy. The feud continued with the Kavanaghs directing their anger at Henry Heron who was Bagenal's brother-in-law.

The bishop of Ossory was murdered by one James Dullerde who was subsequently apprehended by Donal Spainnigh and his brother Cahir Carragh but fought to the finish and was beheaded by them. At this time it would appear Donal Spainnigh was living in uneasy harmony with Wallop (perhaps to try to find out more about him and his ways).Wallop began his project of felling the timber of the Duffry and floating it downriver for export to England. This timber was needed for shipbuilding, making barrel staves and for making charcoal.

Murtough McMaurice Kavanagh of Knockangarrow and his brothers Brian and Murrough were pardoned in 1587. They were the 2nd and 3rd and 4th sons of Maurice Duff son of Dermot McMaurice (the Maurice was King of Leinster who died in 1531). Pardons were issued to Donal Reagh McMorogh Backagh of Bolledorchy and Polmonty, (and who was married to a daughter of McVadock), the eldest son of Murrough Bacach McGerald McArt (the Art in question being Art McDermot Layard who was the 2nd son of Dermot Laimhdeirg founder of the Sept who in turn was the grandson of Gerald, McMurrough, King of Leinster who died in 1431), and his brother Dermot Ower McMorogh Backagh of Knockin and later of

Coolback. Dermot was married to Onora Ny Neale whom Nicholls thinks was one of the O'Neills of Farrenoneale near Clonegal. Pardon was also issued to Gerald McBrien McCahir as of 'Tyneranz' and to his sister Katherine who was married to Walter Devereux of Courthele. Another to be pardoned was Art McDermot son of the 6th son of Murtagh who was the founder of the important sept of Tincurry. Further pardons were issued to Edmond McArt McDowling formerly of Ballaman but now of Tyneranz; Criffen McMaurice McDowling formerly of Monamolin (in Killinerle) now of Syneranz (?); Donall McBrian McDowling as of Tyneranz; Edmond McDonnell McGerald of Ballycrinnigan and his brother Murrough, the great grandsons of Edmond the 5th son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg.

It would appear from correspondence of the time that Wallop had reduced the neighbourhood of Enniscorthy to some kind of 'civility' so that 'no cattle is housed in the nights neere about Enniscorthy'.

Dowling McBrien McMoriertagh who was a grandson of Murtagh son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg had Royal letters authorising a surrender and regrant of his estates but these never took effect. He was married to Honora daughter of Murtagh Og Kavanagh of Garryhill who was murdered the previous year (1587). Dowling had served with Sir William Stanley in the Low Countries and had returned when Stanley defected.

In June of this year the Irish were aware f and awaiting the outcome of the planned invasion of England by the Spanish and Fiach McHugh and Donal Spainnigh refused to offer submission to the Deputy. However in August they did and gave hostages, Crimthainn Kavanagh was given by Donal Spainneach. He was either Crimtahinn McGearilt McCahir who was Donal's first cousin or Crimthainn McArt Bui who was his second cousin. It may well have been the latter as there is no further notice of him in the Nicholls genealogy and he may have been put to death subsequently. Fiach McHugh sent in two sons Redmond and Bryan as well as his kinsman Hugh O'Toole. Walter Reagh Fitzgerald who was in rebellion with Fiach and Donal sent in Kedagh O'Toole. Fiach McHughs 'pledges' escaped in December with others and Sir John Perrot said he compelled Fiach to go to him 'in English apparel, without protection and to put in his eldest son and two other sons and his wife's brother'.

Maurice McTirlough McCahir McArt was attainted of felony and his uncle Murtagh McCahir McArt was attainted of treason. Muriertagh Og Kavanagh of Garryhill died. He was the son of

Muriertagh Kavnagh who had refused the title of King of Leinster in 1580. Muriertagh Og had five brothers; Brian, slain by the kerne of Kilkenny; Donough Caragh who slew Bagenal in 1587; Maurice; Art and Dermot both executed. (Year not certain).

Thomas Masterson had retired by this year (1589) and his son Sir Richard was appointed as Constable of Ferns castle and as Seneschal.

Fiach McHugh was out in rebellion again in October and attacked Lord Ormond's castle in Arklow to 'execute his malice upon Hugh Duff McDonyll, his Lordships tenant there".

Art McMorogh was pardoned as a freeholder. He was the 5th son of Murrough Kavanagh of Moneynamough whose father Murtagh was a son of Dermot Laimhdearg. According to Nicholls Murtagh was the founder of a very important sept' which alone seems to have disputed the chieftaincy of sliocht Diarmada Laimhdearg with the sept of Art (Art McDermot Layard). According to a Co Carlow inquisition of 23 October, Edmond McBrien McDowling of Ballybaun and his brother Turlough were attainted of felony at New Ross and Wexford and were seized of 1/4 of the lands of Ballybaun and Monamolin and of a messuage in Tamoling (St. Mullins). Also attainted at Kilkenny and Wexford respectively were Maurice McMorogh McMorish of Ballyleigh and his brother Moriertagh who were seised jointly of 1/3 of Ballyleigh (These were grandsons of Maurice the 6th son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg).

By this year Donal Reagh McArt Boy of Clonmullen was dead leaving two sons both under the age of fourteen. These named as Moreiertagh McDonnell and Cahir claimed as infants through their uncle in law and next friend Ferdorogh McDermot O'Connor of Ballina, Co. Wexford, to be entitled as co-heirs in gavelkind to their father's inheritance, the lands of Clonmullen, Clonee, Ballyoughna, Monnemore, etc. of which they had been dispossessed on the date mentioned by Donel "Spaniolo'.

A pardon was given to Gerald McCahir McMurtagh, a brother of Murrough Leigh McCahir who was executed in 1584.

Thomas Masterson, now Sir Thomas died in England. His passing was not regretted by the Irish of Ui Cinnsealaigh.

More pardons were issued in 1591, Donough McCriffen McCahir McArt of Ballynacoolagh was pardoned as was Gerald McBrien McCahir as of Ballynabranagh and Edmond McBrien of the same address who was illegitimate according to Nicholls. Elizabeth Ny Brian was pardoned as of Harristown and Maurice McTirlough McCahir of Balynacoolagh. An important surrender and regrant

petition by Diarmuid McMuiris of Knockangarrow, was acceded to in the next year, and he was also given a daily pension of four shillings as an inducement to other members of the clan to do likewise.

As already stated not all the Kavanaghs took the easy option and in the same year as Diarmuid received his four shilling pension, Art Duff Kavanagh of the Ballyloughan sept, who descended from Murrough Balloch through the line of Donough of Ballyloughan was executed for treason and rebellion near Carlow.

On the 29th April, 1592, pursuant to a Queen's letter of 10th July, 1591 and consequent upon an investigation of the extent of his lands by Ludovic Bryskett, the sherriff of Wexford, Dermot McMaurice of Knockangarrow (Camolin Park) was allowed to surrender his lands and obtain a regrant. He was given letters patent of his estates - six townlands at one twentieth of a knight's fee with a rent of forty five shillings and sixpence, as his personal possession and his freeholders were to hold their lands by common socage, and he received an extra grant of lands including the townland of Ballinattin in the district of Killinerle. The latter property was granted to him, having been taken for the Crown, following the attainder of Maurice McMorogh McMorish of Ballyleigh and his brother Moriertagh who were seised jointly of 1/3 of Ballyleigh (these were grandsons of Maurice the 6th son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg). Dermot was maried to Joan Walsh daughter of Richrd Walsh of Carrigmine Dublin, and widow of Edmond Eustace of Kilknock, Co. Carlow the youngest son of the Viscount Baltinglass.

Pardoned in this year was Dowling McMorogh McMorish of Ballynacoolagh, grandson of Maurice the 6th son of Dermot Laimhdearg. The Kinsellaghs, McVadocks, and McDamores were in such an impoverished state owing to the raids and disturbances of the Byrnes, Lord Baltinglass, the Butlers and others that arrears of £1,300 were owed to the Crown. They appealed to have them halved. Dowling McBrian of Tincurry, again petitioned to have his lands secured by surrender and regrant, but this was not done. Instead he was given a pension in consideration of his services in the Low Countries.

Encouraged by the success of his kinsmen, Donal Spainneach also applied for a surrender and this was given immediately together with a pension. Part of the conditions of the surrender were that Donal give up all claims to the royal manors of Ferns and Clohamon, but it appears he was reluctant to comply and he had to wait a further four years for a commission to investigate the extent of his property. Fr. Wall in his book 'Buncloidi' quotes the letter from the

Enniscorthy Castle, repaired and renovated by Henry Wallop

Queen to the Lord Deputy; 'Touching the petition of Donall Cavenagh to surrender his lands, we are pleased that you, our Deputy, accept his surrender for our use, and to regrant the lands to him and the heirs male of his body, or the body of his father, in form of law; and since the time of his coming to our obedience, he hath behaved himself loyally and dutiful, and done us acceptable service, in consideration of which, for his better encouragement, we are pleased to grant him a pension of 2s. 6d. a day. And as to the title which he pretends to some of our castles and manors, though we acknowledge no such matter, yet you shall do well to accept of him a surrender and release of all his right and title thereto.'

Criffen McGerald McCahir formerly of Clonmullen was pardoned as of Clonee in 1593. He was the eldest son of Gerald McCahir Carragh (Cahir Carragh had been slain in 1538) who was the chief of the sept of Art Boy in the 1560s. Donal Spainneach was now the accredited leader not alone of the sept of Art Bui but of the remnants of the Kavanagh clan.

The following year Fiach McHugh wrote a long letter to the Deputy craving pardon for his misdeeds. The Deputy wrote to the Privy Council recommending the extirpation of Fiach saying 'he being suppressed or expulsed the chief Denn and Receptacle of all the thieves and traytors in Leinster will be broken up. 'At this time Fiach apparently was in contact with the Spaniards and according to Ralph Lane (?) Fiach had '3 or 4 spanyards cum in to hym out of Brittayen with great complottes and a Seminary priest (from the Seminary in Salamanca with them. Whereupon Fiach immediately sett all ye axemen hee could gett on worcke to make a great store of pykes and smyths to make heddes for them. He also sends his raskalls to enter as well by day as by night all ye villages and undefensibe houses in those countries adjoining to take away all ye arms and warlyck furniture they can meete withall.'

Wallop wrote to the Deputy stating he had spent considerable sums in restoring the Castle in Enniscorthy and asking to be recompensed. He also asked for a permanent force of 12 footmen to keep order in the area. He further went on to say 'Mybuildings and plantings at Enniscorthy to my great chardges (costs), being a moste wilde border, and parte of the barbarous Country of the Kavanaghs, a people never reduced to civilite, nor in any age have lived 3 yerres in peace until 9 years since that I planted there, when all the country about me was uttlery waste twelve miles in any waies, and some waies (ways) twenty miles, which now by my buildinge there only at my owne chardge is as well inhabited as any parte of Ireland

is, and yieldeth contribution to H.M. which it never did before'.

In July of this year the chief of the Kinsellaghs, Art McDermot McEdmond Duff, went over to London to pay his respects to the Queen and the Privy Council, and to beg that arrears of payments would be remitted. In addition he looked for Court Leet and Baron within his town of Newtown (Gorey?) and to keep a fair at his towne of Kibegnett (parish of Gorey) to begin on the 1st August and continue for 6 days and to have a weekly market on Tuesdays. He also brought over a long letter from Fiach in which he begged pardon for himself and his sons and Walter Reagh who were involved in the burning of the castle of Ardrye on the Barrow near Athy, where Sir Pierce FitzJame Fitzgerald, his wife, her two sisters, three sisters of Edward FitzGerald son of Sir Maurice and two gunners were burnt to death.

In October, Fiach wrote again to the Deputy, offering to surrender his lands and to pay any reasonable rent that was imposed. At the same time he called on all the men of his country, between 16 and 60 to meet him with armour and any weapons they could find. According to Sir Richard Bingham the Crown forces were very weakened and not in a state to oppose Fiach, who according to him, could only muster about 140 men.

Murtagh Og Kavanagh, who was probably from the Garryhill line submitted to Deputy Russell in December, but Art McDermot McEdmond Duff who was still in London wrote home to the Council in Dublin, complaining of the depredations of Murtagh Og against his tenants and stating that one of his best followers was killed and his brother mortally wounded along with two others who tried to rescue the 'prey'.

In January of 1595 the Deputy Russell made an expedition against Fiach McHugh and captured his stronghold at Ballinacor, but Fiach managed to escape. In early February the Deputy again marched against Fiach, for the purpose, as Sir Ralph Lane writes to Burghley, 'of unkennelling the Woulfe, feagh McHughe and his whelpes'. He stayed at Ballinacor, until the 16th waiting for Lord Ormond who was to come from the south. While there he fortified the house and garrisoned 50 soldiers there. On the 5th day the Deputy sent Harrington to parley with Fiach and Walter Reagh Fitzgerald his brother in law, and they came to the parley with 140 kernes and gallow glasses and two pipers playing before them. Fiach was repentant and willing to submit, but Walter Reagh was the opposite. The parley came to nought and the rebels withdrew to the remote glens. The Crown forces continued there for the whole

month and killed and wounded many of them including brothers of Walter Reagh and a brother of Fiach called Redmond McHugh. A reward of £100 was offered for the head of Fiach and £140 for him if captured alive. In retaliation Fiach and Walter burned houses and killed settlers near the Pale.

In March reinforcements arrived in the form of 1100 men from Brittany, who had been levied to campaign in Ireland. They landed in Waterford under the command of Sir Henry Norris. They were to March through the Kavanagh Country and on 'to skoure the glens, on to Wicklow.' In the first week of April, Mortagh Teig Og O'Byrne, made a plot with Harrington to capture Walter Reagh. He was captured, and badly wounded in the arm and leg by the men of James FitzPiers FitzGerald a cousin of Lord Ormond. Two principal men of the O'Dempseys were captured also 'fit to accompany Walter to the Gallose'. His own first cousin and trusted Counsellor Dermond McPhelim Reagh was also in on the plot.

In the second week of April, the Deputy went into Fiach's country and by this time had his wife a prisoner in Dublin castle. According to the Crown side, the O'Byrnes were now all mistrusting each other and fearful of betrayal. They were forced to eat their stud horses because of the scarcity of food. The only place they could get any respite was among the Kavanaghs with whom they were intermarried. The rebels fought a desperate guerilla type warfare but the Deputy's men killed 36 of them and sent their heads to Dublin. The Deputy went down to Ferns in late April and on to Enniscorthy and then back to Wicklow. He spent five weeks campaigning and was unable to win a decisive victory against Fiach. He stated that were it not for the Kavanaghs who gave assistance to Fiach he would have captured him. Fr. Wall in his book 'Buncloidi' states that Fiach and his men were in the vicinity of Clonmullen sometime in June. The Deputy left 25 kernes and 50 soldiers behind in Ferns and others at Ballemore, Moynney, Arklow, Baltinglas (Williamstown), Castle Kevan and Ballinacor.

In a skirmish in June, Fiach was badly wounded, having been shot in the thigh and stabbed with a knife, but still managed to escape. Following this, Fiach petitioned the Deputy to call a truce and offered his son Tirlough as a hostage and his nephew Owen the son of Rory O'Moore of Laois. This was accepted but according to the official side, Fiach spent his time gathering supporters and laying in provisions. He was given a protection for two months, October and November. Wallop wrote a long and persuasive letter to Lord Burghley, urging him to get rid of Fiach and his sons, once and for

all. He makes the point that there could be no peace or law in the country while Fiach and his sons remained alive. In November Fiach pleaded for a further respite and humbled himsef on his knees before the Council. He was granted a further three months. Again Wallop was bitterly opposed to this and wrote another letter to Sir Robert Cecil. He then wrote to Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Seal, in much the same vein urging that the O'Byrnes be dispossessed and the land taken for the Crown. He blamed Fiach for the Northern troubles, having engineered the escape of O'Donnell and other northern hostages from Dublin Castle five years previously.

Dermot McMaurice of Knockangarrow (Camolin Park) and his son Art were pardoned. He had complained in a letter of the previous year of the oppression of the Seneschal (Richard Masterson) and his father before him - 'his father and himself have sondrie times moost maliciouslie sought his lif and used him and his poor people with verie hard and unlawfull dealing'. Masterson was so perturbed by the continual raiding etc. in the north of the county he wrote to the Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, asking him to come to the area which he did.

Again Fiach McHugh wrote a very humble letter to the Deputy, begging pardon for his past crimes and offering to surrender his lands if he would be given a regrant. He also begged to be allowed to have his goods restored.

In June of 1596 Colcough noted that there had been a great gathering of the followers of Fiach, headed by Phelim McFiach, the Duffs, and the Kavanagh nephews of Fiach. They planned to retake Ballinacor. They were in the neighbourhood of Coollattin, near Shillelagh shortly after Colclough noticed them gathering in the south of Wexford. Oweny O'Moore, another nephew of Fiach, who had been a hostage, came from Laois with sixty men and met up with the others who numbered about 150. Fiach and his party stayed in the area of Mount Leinster for some time gathering up numbers of soldiers. According to intelligence reports Fiach was promised 200 men from the north. It would appear that O'Neill was attempting to divert the attention of the Crown forces at this time He persuaded Donal Spainneach to help Fiach and ordered him to give a hostage. Donal sent one of his own sons to the North as a pledge. Some time later he had to give another son as a hostage to the Crown side. And later in 1600 O'Neill demanded yet another son as hostge, This pressure from both sides explains the low profile adopted by Donal during most of the Nine Years War.

Colclough's party harried Fiach's men to some extent and Fiach sent him a threatening letter. Later in the summer he sent a letter to the Queen with Harrington, begging pardon etc Intelligence reports came in that the Earl of Tyrone's envoys were visiting Fiach. In August Fiach met James Butler, son of Sir Edmond and they made a solemh covenant that if Fiach rose up in rebellion, James would do likewise. On the 11th of August five soldiers from the Ballinacor fort were caught and hanged by James Butler and some of the Kavanaghs.

Captain Thomas Lee, from whom 500 cattle had been stolen by the Butlers and some of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles was sent to the Ranelaghs to build a new fort near Rathdrum, and promised to rid the country of Fiach for once and for all.

In October the Deputy visited Rathdrum and wrote a long letter to the Privy Council mainly dealing with Fiach and his plots and treachery and how Donal Spainneach had joined him and their object appeared to be to make a junction with Tyrone and to 'gett the Kingdom for themselves'. He boasted that he had killed Fiach's brother, captured some of his best men and taken 700 cows and hoped by Christmas to make Fiach a very bush Kerne with only two men to follow him.

In November the Deputy went in pursuit of Fiach again with considerale success, according to himself and dispersed the Byrnes and camped at Tullow. In December, Captain Lee who was going to the fort at Rathdrum with provisions was attacked, but managed to kill forty of the Rebels. The Butlers and others were accused of committing many spoils (robberies) and burnings.

Following the petition of Donal Spainneach four years earlier, a commission was set up in this year to access the extent of his property but because of the disturbed state of the North of the county the Commissioners were unable to carry out the survey. The Commissioners appointed to look into Art McEdmond Duff's petition for a surrender and regrant were also unable to carry out their remit. There was a general truce declared in the Nine Year's War which lasted for two years.

Fiach McHugh was killed in May of 1597 by Captain Lee and his band who surprised him and three or four swordsmen in a cabin in the early hours of the morning. His head was spiked on Dublin Castle and later pickled and sent to the Queen.

Dermot McMaurice of Knockangarrow, a great grandson of Maurice, McMurrough, King of Leinster (d. 1531) sold the townland of Ballinattin in the district of Killinerle, to Gerald McBrian

Kavanagh of Sliocht Diarmada Laimhdearg. Pardons were given to Donall, Donough and Kreffon McKreffon sons of Criffen (Criomthainn) Kavanagh who wa executed in 1581; Cahir Carragh McDonough McCahir formerly of Clonmullen, of Reilane (Ryland) who was married to Ismay Eustace daughter of Edmond Eustace of Kilknock; Criffen McGerald McCahir who pardoned as of Clonmullen and Clonee was now pardoned as of Ballynavoughran. Gerald McMurtagh Kavanagh of Garryhill, conveyed property to Willim Wall and to Edmond O'Doyne including the caslte and townland of Rathnageeragh.

According to Fr. Wall's history, Donal Spainneach also received a pardon. In addition he was given a pension of 22s.5d a day as an incentive to remain at peace with the English. It was noted that he was living in the Duffry at this time, and Fr. Wall notes that he had several strongholds in the Dufffry. Fr. Wall further states that orders had come from Aedh O'Neill of Tyrone, the leader of the Irish forces in the Nine Years War, (which began in 1594) to desist from hostilities pending peace negotiations which were in progress.

Sir Richard Masterson was accused of being in collusion with some of the followers of the late Fiach McHugh although in April of this year Masterson had brought to the Deputy 12 heads of Fiach's followers and had committed 7 more to Wexford Castle as prisoners. He was arrested but was released almost immediately and shortly after a Letter of Pardon was sent from Queen Elizabeth to Richard Masterson, Constable of Ferns castle and to his brothers John and Nicholas of Clohamon.

The Nine Years War broke out again in 1598 and hostilities were resumed in Leinster. Following prompting from O'Neill of Tyrone, Donal Spainneach attempted to revive the forbidden Gaelic title of King of Leinster. He also revived the clan claim to the lands seized in 1543 by the English officials of the time. The two sons of Fiach McHugh were sent into Leinster with 200 men and Brian Reagh Moore came into Wexford and agreed with Donal Spainneach to make a cattle raid on the settlers near Enniscorthy. A battle was fought in May between the forces of Donal Spainneach aided by Brian Reagh Moore of Laois and Wallops forces from Enniscorthy aided by the Gentlemen of Wexford and the Mastersons. The Royal forces were decisively beaten and Richard Masterson was wounded. One of Colclough's sons, Leonard, was killed and Thomas Colcough was injured. Many of the common soldiers and gentlemen of Wexford were killed. About 300 of the Royal soldiers were killed and about 80 of the Irish.

Later in the year in an engagement with the forces of Cahir McHugh a brother of Fiach, the Royal forces received another setback and in the skirmish, three officers were killed including Oliver Wallop the second son of Sir Henry. Following the Enniscorthy encounter Lord Ormond gave Donal Spainneach and Brian Reagh protections for one month.

Gearoid Oge Kavanagh the second son of Gerald McCahir Carragh who was chief of the sept in the 1960's, was executed in June following his capture. He was one of the Kavanaghs who was very prominent in the Eniscorthy engagement. Dowling McDermot 2nd son of Dermot McMoriertagh and grandson of Dermot Laimhdearg (d. 1511) was pardoned as of Balybegge (Kilrush/Ferns parish). His son's Funeral Entry calls him Dowling McDermot McMortagh Kavanagh of Ballyroboge (Kilrush parish). He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Esmonde of Johnstown and sister of Lawrence Lord Esmonde.

Phelim McFiach McHugh submitted by letter to the Deputy and 'was restored to his country'. But according to Hore, he was still in league with and plotting with Donal Spainneach and Donal Reagh. Hugh O'Neill and the Irish inflicted a most severe defeat on the English at the Battle of the Yellow Ford on 14th August and this victory gave great heart to the Irish generally. O'Sullivan Bearra wrote that Donal Spainneach wasted a great part ofCo. Meath, with fire and sword. He completely overran Wexford and the authorities became so alarmed it was proposed to give Donal a grant of the Duffry and Enniscorthy!

Donal Spainneach and the sons of Fiach McHugh were in rebellion again in 1599. Phelim McFiach defeated the Crown forces under Harrington at the Ranelagh with considerable slaughter. The Earl of Essex, a relative of the Devereux family of Ballymagir arrived in Ireland with the largest army ever seen in the country - 20,000 men, 2,000 horse and 7,000 picked soldiers. They were attacked by Donal Spainneach, Feidhlim O'Byrne and Owney O'Moore and received a severe setback when they were ambushed at a place subsequently called 'the Pass of the Plumes' in Co. Laois. It was so called because of the considerable quantity of plumed helmets left behind by the escaping English.

Essex made an expedition from Waterford through Wexford and the Kavanaghs sent all their cattle to Wicklow as a precaution. Essex stayed in Ballymagir and it was said that Sir Nicholas Devereux had to sell one townland to pay for the erection of a special house in which to entertain. On his way northwards Essex passed

through Enniscorthy and Ferns and told the Mastersons (Richard and Henry who commanded Enniscorthy's troops) that if Donal Spainneach followed in his rear, they were to take the opportunity to go into the countryside and burn the villages, which they did. Notwithstanding the pressures imposed by such a huge military force, Donal and Feidhlim O'Byrne, doggedly pursued them and in a battle near Arklow they suffered some severe losses (over 100 men and five of their chief commanders). They sued for peace but Essex refused to meet them unless they threw themselves on the mercy of the Queen. This was not done and Essex proceeded to Dublin and the Kavanaghs and Byrnes returned to their own countrys. Donall Spainneach was the hero of North Wexford and Carlow and was regarded by the clan as 'no less than the King of Leinster'.

Fiach McHugh's sister who was the widow of Brian McCahir McArt and who subsequently married Phelim OToole of Powerscourt was pardoned as a widow. Bryan McDonough Kavanagh of Ballyloughan who was a nephew of Art Duff (executed in 1591) was living in this year and subsequently became Sheriff of Co. Carlow and Constable of Ballyloughan castle.

Henry Wallop died in this year and his son Henry succeeded to the property and the care of Enniscorthy and Ferns was left to Richard Masterson who had charge of 150 footsoldiers. Towards the close of the year, the country was in such a state of disorder, that it was suggested, as a means of pacifying the rebels to grant them lands already in English hands. It was proposed, as already mentioned, to give Donal Spainneach the Duffry and Enniscorthy. According to Donal Moore (English action - Irish reaction:The McMurrough Kavanaghs 1530 - 1630) Lord Ormond who was very influential in Government circles was very well disposed towards the Kavanaghs and shielded them on many occasions.

# Chapter 12

# TOWARDS TOTAL DISINTEGRATION

N MARCH of 1600 Phelim McFiach O'Byrne submitted before the Council on his knees. The Justices present were Loftus, Gardirner and Fenton.

Donal Spainneach attacked Enniscorthy castle and laid waste Wexford. This last big attack on Forth and Bargy was led by Donal Spainneach, Phelim McFiach McHugh O'Byrne, Edmond McBrian Kavanagh, Thomas Roche and the Butlers of Mountgarret. They burnt Taghmon and everything in their path to Bannow. They had an army of 1200 and the crown forces who had only 300 foot and 40 horse retired to mind their own holdings. At this time many colonists went back to Pembroke from Forth and Bargy but the people there could not understand their English.

According to Roche, in his article about Forth and Bargy, 'Mountjoy overran the territory of the McMurrough Kavanaghs in the summer of this year'. Phelim McFiach again submitted on his knees. Donal Spainneach received a pardon, but had to give up a son as a hostage, (probably Morgan) who was lodged in Dublin Castle and another son was compelled to attend school in Dublin. Gerald McWalter Gallde was also pardoned. So too was Morogh Bacach McDonnell Reagh of Carriglead, who was stated to be a 'noted outlaw and bandit'.

The following year Phelim was again out in rebellion but the Kavanaghs seem to have been coming to terms with the inevitable as several of them were pardoned, notably Dermot McCrimthinn of Corranenecronaght, his son Maurice McDermot, Donough McCrimthinn a brother of Dermot's, and Crimthinn McCrimthinn, all from the same place Corranenecronaght. Morogh Bacach of Carriglead, pardoned the previous year was again favoured. Dermot OwerMcMurrough Baccach uncle of the 'bandit' noted previously was pardoned. He was married to Onora Ny Neill one of the O'Neills of Farrenoneile in Moyacomb parish. The sons of Brian McCahir were pardoned also, namely, Murrough or Morgan (who had been brought up in English schools with his brother and two sisters) Gerald McBrian formerly of Tyranez (Tinneranna) and now of Ballinabranagh and Rahindorogh, Maurice McBrian of Knockscur,

who was married to Honora a daughter of Gerald McMurtagh Og of Garryhill, Edmond McBrien of Kiltealy (who was married to Sheawe (?) a daughter of Donal Spainneach) and Maurice Mergagh McCrien of Tincurry (two illegitimate sons).

Others pardoned were from the tribe of Donough son of Dermot Lamhdearg notably, Brian McDonnell McDonough of Templeudigan, and his sons Edmond and Crimthinn (Crean) of Borris (in Kilrush parish), the grandsons of Donough Og McDonough, Turlough Ban, Donough and Gerald McCahir all of Borris. Some of the descendants of Murtough the son of Dermot Lamhdearg were pardoned viz, Edmond McMurrough McMoriertagh of Rathpaidinboy and his sons Morgan, Turlough, Cahir, Donough and Dermot (of Rathnure) and his nephews, Maurice McDonnell McMoroghe and Brian McArt McMorishe of Rathpaidinboy. Another of the tribe of Murtagh to be pardoned was Dowling McBrien McMoriertagh, as of Coleran but formerly of Tincarrow (probably Tomgarrow near Scarawalsh).

Of the sept of Dowling the 4th son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg, Donough Mcart McDowling was pardoned as of Monamolin, and Edmond McArt McDowling his brother, as of Ballybaun. He is probably the Edmond who was the lesee of Sir Richard Masterson in the lands of Curralane the intervening townsland between Ballaman and Ballycadden both of which had fallen into Masterson hands when Sir Thomas was granted the manor of Clohamon in 1581. His brother Criffen (Crimthainn) was also pardoned as was his cousin Donough McMaurice McDowling of Monmolin and his son Cahir McDonough. Another cousin, Art McBrian McDowling of Tomanine was pardoned and his brother Donal McBrian McDowling. Of the sept of Edmond the 5th son of Dermot Laimhdearg, Edmond McDonnell McGerald McEdmond of Ballycrinnigan was pardoned with his brothers Maurice and Dermot of Torra. Two sons of Murrough the eldest son of Maurice, formerly of Ballyleigh, who was the 5th son of Dermot Laimhdearg were pardoned: Dowling McMoroghe McMorishe as of Crompane, and Dermot McMoroghe McMorish formerly of Ballynacoolagh was pardoned as of Ballyleigh along with his wife Sawe Ni Riain.

Of the sept of Art Bui (King of Leinster who died in 1517) Cahir McDonell Reagh McArt Boy (the Art Boy here mentioned being a grandson of the famous Art Boy founder of the set) and his sister Katherine. Also pardoned from this sept, were Cahir Carragh McDonagh McCahir (the last Cahir being the eldest son of Murtagh the son of Art Bui). The wife of Donal Spainneach, Elinor, who was a daughter of Brian McCahir of Polmonty received a pardon as did

Ismay Eustace alias Kavanagh of Ryland, the wife of Cahir Carragh a brother of Donal Spainneach, who was paroned. Donal himself received a formal notification of his pardon of the previous year. According to Father Wall's book 'Buncloidi' Donall and Feidhlim O'Byrne and other noted Irish leaders had been invited to and attended a banquet in Dublin hosted by Lord Mountjoy, the Deputy, about a fortnight prior to the issuing of the pardons.

Of the sept of Art Mor of the Leverock, Donough McMurrough Leigh was pardoned but his father's lands had already been confiscated in 1584.

Captain Lawrence Esmonde wrote to Lord Shrewsbury in April of 1602 and stated that he had broken the Kavanagh faction and caused Donal Spainneach etc. to submit on their knees. However there is some discrepancy somewhere as in the same year Wallop was complaining that Donal was taking his cattle, mowing his meadows, ruining the huses and killing the tenants.

Murrough Baccach of Carriglead and his uncle Dermot Ower were again pardoned along with Dermot's sons Edmond and Gerald of Old Ross. Murrough subsequently went into exile in England but appears to have returned prior to 1622. Gerald McBrian McCahir was pardoned as of Ballynabranagh and Rahindorragh. Christopher McCahir Duff of Clonmullen and Kilbranish near Bunclody was pardoned as of Annagh. Donal Spainneach was pardoned as of Clonmullen. Others to be pardoned were Muiris McDonaill and Gearailt Kavanagh of Clonmullen, possibly sons of Donal Spainneach, Eamonn McBrian Kavanagh of Kiltealy and Sean O Foley of Boolnavochran, probably the ancestor of the present Foleys of Craan and Ballypracus.

According to the state papers as quoted in Fr. Wall's book 'Buncloidi' the hero of the day Donal 'increased in insolency when the Spaniards arrived in the parts about him, (this was a reference to the arrival of some of the Spaniards into the area from Kinsale), the Kinselaghs hath altogether yeldeth itself to obedience and the voluntary relieving of his Bonaghts, whereas Sir Richard Materson can have nothing but at the benevolence of the Rebells'.

Following the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 and the surrender of Hugh O'Neill, the new King, James, published the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity. Gerald McWalter Gallde was pardoned as were Maurice and Edmund sons of Dermot McMaurice of Knockangarrow (Camolin Park). Also pardoned were Cahir the son of Murtough McMaurice of Knockangarrow, Brian McMaurice of Knockangarrow an uncle of the men mentioned above.

Huntington Castle, seat of the Esmondes (photo courtesy Rolph Loeber)

Dermot McCrimthinn who had been pardoned in 1601 conveyed his lands of Corrnenecronaght to Donal Reagh McCrimthinn who had been pardoned in 1597. Gerald McBrian McCahir was pardoned as of Ballynabranagh. The sons of Edmond McMurrough McMoriertagh of Rathpaidinboy, the descendants of Murtagh a son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg, notably Cahir McEdmond, Donough and Dermot, Dermot McEdmond of Rathnure as he was styled was last in remainder in the settlement made by Derby McDowling Kavanagh of Tincurry in 1628 and it would appear that his brothers all predeceased him.

According to Fr. Wall, Donal Spainneach followed Lord Mountjoy to England and there obtained a pension of 10/- a day as a reward for his 'loyalty'. Fr. Wall goes on to say 'On the 22nd August, a letter was issued from the Privy Council of England in favour of Donnell Cavenaghe or Spainnigh and his kinsmen, notifying the king's pleasure that he should be entered in the cheque roll as a pensioner, to have 10s sterling per day till he recovered his rights or was better provided for'.

While Donal was in England some of his followers attacked Peppard's castle near Glascarrig, and demanded food and drink, which was refused. In the ensuing skirmish, Peppard, who was a son of Anthony Peppard and related to the Kavanaghs of Coolnaleen, killed two of the raiders. Donal's wife Elinor, complained to the Lord Justice and Peppard was arrested. However he was released following an enquiry into the affair.

Sir John Davys wrote to Cecil complaining of the state of North Wexford in 1604. He said that Donal Spaineach and followers had lately murdered a man who went to take a distress (i.e. to seize goods in lieu of rent) upon his land and yet Donal had been pardoned three times inside that year. Likewise the sons of Fiach McHugh had committed murders and had been given pardons. In this year also the North of the county was being preyed upon by about a hundred kern under the command of Edmond McBrien O'Byrne and James McJames Butler.

Other Kavanaghs to receive pardons in this year were Dermot Ower McMurrough Bacach, pardoned in 1601 and in 1602, and his son Edmond as of Coolback.

Cahir Carragh the brother of Donal Spaineach was pardoned as of Ryland. Donal Spainneach's land, adjudged to have been formerly part of the Norfold inheritance was declared forfeit and was granted to James Hamilton, but was soon after sold back to Donal. He also became involved with Richard Masterson in a dispute about lands

and lost his case. He purchased lands in Carlow - Clonmullen, Kilbranish, etc. Morgan McBrian was in dispute with Henry Brouker, President of Munster over lands also. Brounker had been granted 19 townlands in Carlow some of which were claimed by Morgan. Brounker eventually sold some of the disputed territory to Morgan. Brounker was active in Wexford also, and claimed lands belonging to Dowling McBrian of Tincurry, but Dowling successfully withstood the case.

In his Thesis on the McMurroughs, Donal Moore states that the Manor and Caste of Carlow and a large area of land in Forth O'Nolan (Myshall area) were granted to Donough O'Brien the Earl of Thomond in 1606.

Gerald McBrian McCahir was given a confirmation of his estate of Ballynabranagh by his brother Morgan. He was married to Katherine a daughter of Gerald O'Byrne. Morgan also conveyed his interest in the lands of Templeudigan which he had acquired from Sir Henry Brounker (to whom they had been granted by Letters Patent, and who seems to have been an intermediary in the surrender and regrant of the lands of the Kavanaghs of Sliocht Dhiarmada Laimhdearg) to Art McCahir who was descended from Donough the eldest son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg through Donagh, Donagh Og and Cahir his father. This Art McCahir seems to have been from Ballinaberney in Kilrush parish. The lands were granted in tail male to his brothers as his successors and the remainder to their kinsmen Edmond and Criffen McBrien.

Morgan Kavanagh of Clonmullen, Donal Kavanagh of Moneyboe, Arthur and Dermot Kavanagh of Ballyknockstaggard and Dermot McMaurice of Knockangarrow were Justices of the Peace. Art McCahir of Ballinaberney and Templeudigan was on the Grand Jury panel of Scarawalsh as were Edmond McArt McDowling of Ballyaman and Ballybaun and Donal McBrian McDowling of Ballycadden. Dowling McMoroghe McMorish of Gobbinstown but formerly of Ballynacoolagh and Crompane was on the Grand Jury panel for Co. Wexford. He was the 3rd son of Murrough who was the son of Maurice the 6th son of Dermot Laimhdearg.

Cahir McDonough of Monamolin was pardoned. He was the grandson of Maurice the 4th son of Dowling the son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg. In this year (1608) he made a settlement on his wife Onora Roche and the heirs male of his own body, remainder to the heirs male of his father, Donough McMorish. Dermot McDonnell McGerald of Torra occurs in the Grand Jury Panel for Carlow.

Sir Richard Masterson left properties in Co. Wexford for the use of

Sir Patrick Barnewall, Sir EdwardFitzgerald and Michael Synnot of Wexford.

In the account of Donal Spainneach by Fr. Wall, it is noted that Donal held a meeting of the Kavanaghs on Good Friday of this year. The news of this meeting so disturbed the authorities that Sir Arthur Chichester wrote to the Privy Council: 'Donal Spainneach, Morgan McBrian and others of the Kavanaghs to a great number, met together as it s advertised by the Earl of Ormonde; what they consulted of or what they concluded, no man can tell, Donell Spainneach himself, confeses the meeting but says it was upon Good Friday last, to make offering to a piece of wood which was of the Holy Cross, as they were made to believe. It is a relic but lately come from Rome. Donnell says the whole company congregated there that day were not above three or four score. He affirms very confidently to be a true and faithful subject, and to serve the King with a hundred men (in pay) when there shall be occasion'.

Dermot McMaurice of Knockangarrow who died was succeeded in his estates by his 2nd son Phelim or Felix. Having been accused of felony he fled to London, but was arrested, tried and convicted there. However, he succeeded in escaping to the Netherlands and became a sea captain. He was married to Honora daughter of Donal Spainneach of Clonmullen and following her husband's attainder she obtained a King's letter for a grant of lands in the 1616 Plantation though no letters patent to her were enrolled.

In February 1610, James 1 agreed to a new surrender of the lands of Donal Spainneach and other owners and the regranting of the same lands to them. The regrant was disputed by Sir Edward Fisher and Sir Lawrence Esmonde, on the grounds of an ancient title of a Viscount Beaumont. Richard 11 had granted the northern half of the county to Sir John de Beaumont in 1395. His name is remembered in the placename Clobemon (Cloch Beamonn - Beaumont's Castle).

In December of the following year Dowling McBrian McMoriertagh formerly of Tomgarrow, and his cousin Dowling McMurrough of Ballygobban, had a regrant of their lands in Bantry and St. Mullins, but the lands east of the Slaney were specifically exempted (to make provision for the plantation of North Wexford). A grant was given to Dowling of territory in Farrenhamon of the town of Oulart (near Milehouse) and the lands of Oulart, Tomahurra, and Tomgarrow and Tencknock? - 576 acres in all. His brother Morgan and his son Edmond were grantees also. Dowling McMoroghe McMorish of Balygobban (Gobbinstown) had a regrant of his lands other than those in the Plantation area of Co. Wexford.

The total amount of land granted to the Kavanaghs named above was 2,400 acres and their loss was somewhat less than 500 acres according to Hore.

In this year (1613) the Plantation was commenced. Like most of the schemes of the Crown, considerable rationalising went on in the correspondence, seeking to justify the move, which incidentally enriched the architects of the scheme. In the case of the North Wexford Plantation, they stated that the lands were 'the dens of the Kavanaghs and other lewd persons in times of rebellion and the people who now possess them have for the most part been their Bonnaghts or hired soldiers, and in such times are still their relievers and fosterers.' Richard Masterson was chosen to be instrumental in the implementation of the scheme, Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy, one of the main beneficeries of the Plantation in writing to Lord Salisbury concerning it, recommeded Masteson as follows: 'I make choice of Sir Richard Masterson especially before others, since he has very nobly and honestly discovered what he has long searched after and found out to clear the King's title, and is a near neighbour to those Countries, and knows best how to deal with them without noise or dirt'.

The lands of Dowling McBrian McMoriertagh, in Scarawalsh were granted to Sir James Carroll (a corrupt official of the Government). This was part of the Plantation which had been initiated in the previous decade and was put in progress in 1611. The earliest casualties were the descendants of McDavymore, whose representative, Redmond McDavymore had signed a surrender and regrant in 1609 but the regrant part never occured. Instead Sir Ed. Fisher, one of the commissioners for the Plantation and who had become an undertaker in the scheme, secured the eviction of thousands of people who were forced to evacuate their homes and seek what refuge they could in more distant mountain regions. Similarly in the district occupied by Dowling McBrian Kavanagh, and his son Dermot and grandson Art McDermot, which was known as Clanhanrick, an area stretching from Ballycarney through Ferns to Camolin and about four miles in width, the inhabitants, many of whom were called Hanrick, were evicted and dispossessed and forced to flee to the mountain area still under the control of Donal Spainneach. Many of their descendants still live there to the present day.

Perhaps the best summing up of the illegality of the Plantation and its terrible consequences for the native population is best illustrated by quoting Patrick O'Doran of Oulart, who wrote a long

petition to the King: 'Gret plots of lands were assigned...to Lord Chichester, Sir Adam Loftus, and Mr. Vallerne of St. Brides in Wales, both sons in law to the said Chichester, to Sir Roger Jones and divers others, whereby all course of justice to be had in the kingdom was by them overseen and prevented...and 1500 acre of the said lands were allocated and passed by patent to Sir Francis Blunden H.M. Secretary for Ireland, to bar that no complaint should come to H.M.'s hearing by any of the said natives....they have sett forward the full Plantation and have dispossessed 4,000 able men and 30,000 ould men, wives and their orphans...to their great grief and utter ruin.'

The lands of Donal Spainneach were coming under pressure also and he had to purchase Clonmullen, Carrigduff, Kilbranish, etc. from Sir Jas Hamilton the King's patentee and he had to purchase the town of Cloughny (Clonee?) from Sir H. Brunkard. His wife Eleanor had to petition for their property but no reply was forthcoming. Morgan Kavanagh of Polmonty also petitioned in the same vein, saying he and his ancestors had held Polmonty time out of mind and he had purchased Askamore (in Kilrush parish, Barony of Gorey) from Sir H. Brunkard in 1604. He further complained he had been ousted from his caste in Ballyanne at the suit of one Nicholas Busher.

Edmond McBrien McCahir of Ballinknocketaggart (Ballyknockstaggard) made a settlement of his estates in 1614 on himself and his wife with remainder in tail to their four sons and to his brothers Gerald, Maurice and Maurice Mergagh of Coolnamara (all of them almost certainly illegitimate). Nicholls mentions that Morgan was conspicuously omitted. It would appear that Edmond's sons were dead by 1663 as Thomas McTurlough Kavanagh was claiming as Edmond's heir in that year.

Roger Mainwaring was the Sheriff of Wexford. He was married to a sister of Richard Masterson and lived in Enniscorthy, possibly in the castle. He had to enforce the evictions consequent upon the Plantation and there were many disturbances in the areas where these evictions occured.

Mary the wife of John Johnson of Newborough (Gorey) yeoman, was robbed on 21 Nov. of goods worth £164 by among others Enagh McHugh Kavanagh of Mullaneorgrough? She said that the rebels 'stript her husband and 8 children of all their clothes and turned them out naked in the cold ayre and frost and snow.' The same Aeneas Kavanagh was accused, with his brother Kerlagh of robbing Robert Barton saying they had the King's Warrent to justify what

they had done.

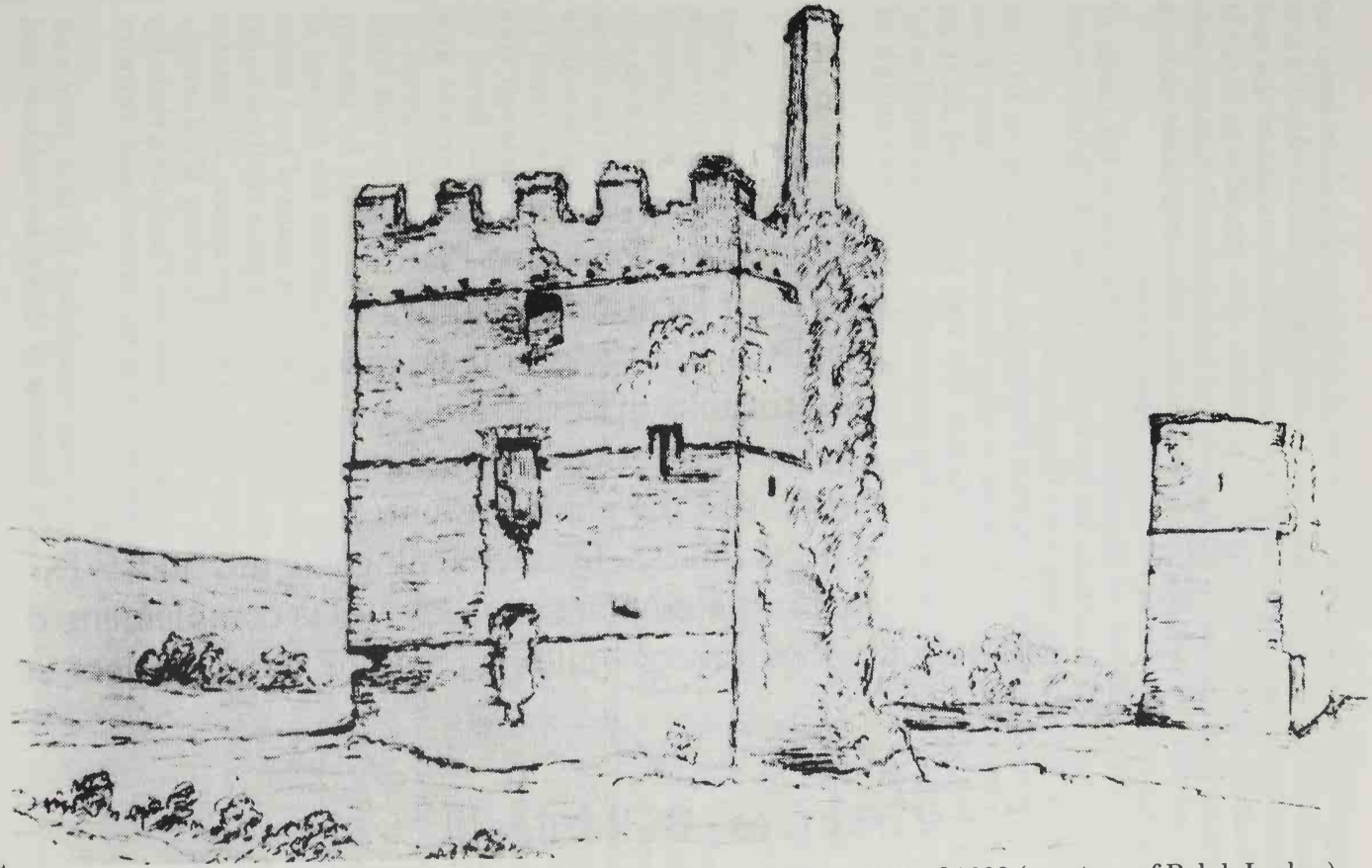
The pension granted to Donal Spainneach in 1603 was suspended in 1615 and was granted instead to Sir Robert Jones, one of the Plantation grantees. His father was Lord Chancellor of Ireland and a Counsellor of State The pension was for ten shillings a day, which was a considerabe sum in those days. Prior to the transfer of the pension it was the subject of a letter written by Eleanor the wife of Donal Spainneach who wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood, the Secretary to James I. The text of the letter as reproduced in Fr. Wall's book is as follows:

"Some time before the transfer of this pension it was the subject of a letter written by Eilionoir, Domhnall's wife, to Sir Ralph Winwood, Principal Secretary to James I from 1614. (Winwood died in 1617). Eilionoir petitions him on her husband's behalf, stating that, whereas he was ordered a pension of '10/- sterling English monie by the date', he, 'ever since hath receaved onlie Tenn shillings Irish per diem and soe lost 2/6 by the date of that which his Majestie and their Lordships intended to him'.

She goes on to say that some 'intended plantationers' were disputing her husband's title and that of 'the free-holders and inhabitants of the parishe of Tample Shanbowe' to their property. Domhnall, she says had 'purchased of Sir James Hamilton, Knt., his Majesties patentee, the Townes and villages of Clonemullen, Carrickduff, Kilbrannes and Treavan (or Greavan; (eg Carran?)) with other Lands, woods and hereditaments in the Countie of Catherlagh, past by his Majesty in ffee farme to the said Sir James Hamilton by Letters Patents'. He had likewise 'purchased of Sir Henry Brunkard, late Lord President of Munster, the Towne and lands of Cloghny in the Countie of Wexford, which among other things were graunted by Letters patents in ffe ffarme to the said Sir Henry Brunkard, and also... the towne and village of Ballaghney with other townes and lands in the said Countie of Wexford of the Natives there which they held by discent.'

Her husband now 'is expulsed of parte of the said lands which he purchased of the Natives and there is some question made by the intended plantationers there as well of the validity of his title to the premises as the titles of the native ffreeholders and inhabitants of the said parishe of Tample Shanbowe, and the petitioners husband is not suffered to make his proffitts of the said woods as is lawfull for him to doe.'

She then petitions that a surrender of the property be accepted and that the lands be granted to the petitioners 'under the greate



Ballycarney Castle, built by Sir James Carroll following the Plantation of 1609 (courtesy of Rolph Loeber)

seale of the Realme in due forme of Lawe,' and that an order be made so that the 'petitioners may quietlie enjoy their said lands and woods purchased of his Majesties foresaid Patentees and of the said Natives and that they may take the proffitts thereof withoutinterupption.' She concludes by asking that Domhnall 'maie be restored to the possession of soe muche of his said lands as he is dispossessed of by colour o the intended plantation.'

Maurice McBrian of Knockscur was confirmed in his lands of Ballybrack and Lissalican by his brother Morgan McBrian, whose brother Walter went surety for Capatin Denis Dale.

Captain Denis Dale, built Fort Chichester, near Gorey, in 1610 as a Plantation castle and called it after the main architect of the Plantation, Sir Arthur Chichester. He was nominated as High Sheriff of County Wexford and his two sureties were Dowling 'Derby' Kavanagh of Tomgarrow and Walter McBrian Kavanagh of Knockscur.

According to Donal Moore, Dowling McBrian of Tincurry was dispossessed of his lands in 1617, but received them back in a very short time.

Dermot McCrimthinn of Corranenecronaght was given a grant under the Wexford Plantation of 121 acres in Knockrahinagee (Rahinagee) but by fine levied in Trinity term of 1619 he conveyed these lands to Edward Medhoppe (a merchant) and to his own son Maurice. Gerald McBrian McCahir settled his estates on his eldest son Turlough and the latter's wife, with remainder to the heirs male of Brian McCahir his father. Gerald McBrien was married to Katherine daughter of Gerald O'Byrne. His son Turlough was married to Mary Byrne daughter of Callagh or Charles Byrne of Kiltimon and Courtfoyle in Co. Wicklow, an important and prominent family. The lands of Dowling McBrian McMoriertgh in Scarawalsh which had been granted to Sir James Carroll were regranted to Dowling following a petition to the King by his son Dermot. Edmond McDowling a grandson of Dermot the 6th son of Murtagh McDhiarmad Laimhdearg was given a grant of land under the plantation but was removed from his native place (Ballyroebuck) to Kilmichael near Gorey where he died a single person. His estates were divided between his five sisters. Dowling McMoroghe McMorish of Ballygobban got a grant under the Plantation, probably of the lands which had belonged to him in the area around Tincurry in Scarawalsh in Co. Wexford.

The Plantation of Wexford was completed by this year and eventually 76,800 acres in the Baronies of Gorey, Ballaghkeen and

Scarawalsh were set aside for Plantation, 28,000 acres were granted to eighteen new English undertakers, 18,900 acres to Old and New English who had been landholders in the area previously and 6,900 acres to four Irish chieftains; Morgan McBrian, Donal Spainneach, Dowling McBrian and Art Mcdermot Duff of the Kinsellaghs. 120 smaller landholders received patents for 23,000 further acres.

# Chapter 13

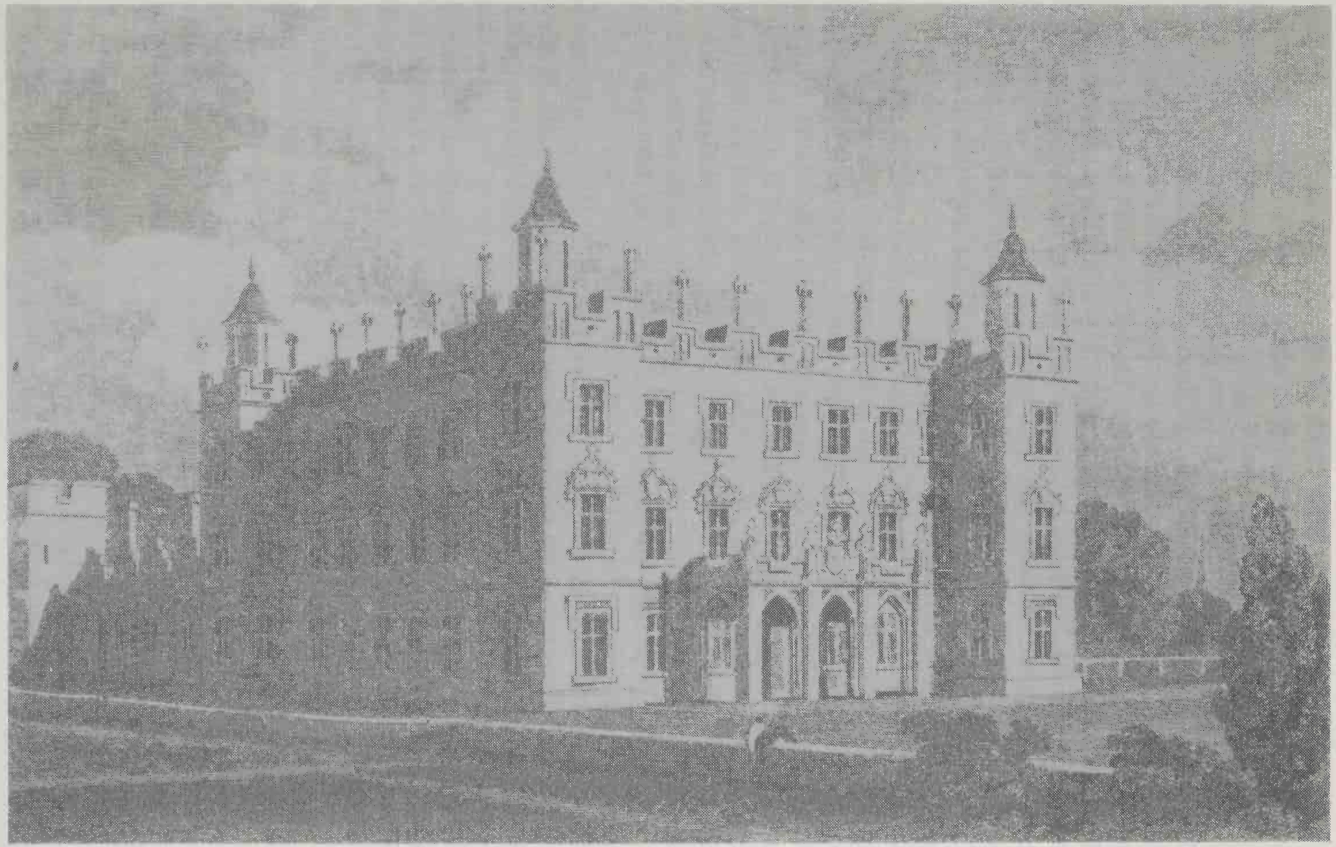
# Into Oblivion

URING THE next twenty years the Kavanaghs and indeed the other Gaelic landowners of Ui Cinnsealaigh made desperate attempts to hold on to the lands they had by force of circumstances acquired. The transition from ancient structures and laws to the new concepts of individual ownership and commerce were painful and many who were not astute enough fell prey to the moneylenders and wily merchants who enriched themselves at the expense of the naive Gaels.

Dowling McBrian McMoriertagh of Tomgarrow died in 1620. His son Dermot (derby) McDowling who wa perhaps (Nicholls) married to Una daughter of Donal Spainneach of Clonmullen and widow of Arthur Eustace eldest son of Oliver Eustace of Ballynunnery, Co. Carlow, was 32 years of age at this time.

About the same year, Morgan or Murrrough McBrian McCahir made a settlement of his estate which he had acquired after its forfeiture through the attainder of the proprietors, some of the Ryans and styled himsef of Borris, Co. Carlow. He was married 1st to Elinor daughter of Edmond Butler, Viscount Mountgarret by whom he had six sons (Brian, Charles, Edmond, Arthur, Richard, Gerald,) and four daughters (Elinor, Grany, married to John Comerford of Ballybur, Kilkenny, Elizabeth m. to Edmond Wall of Urchlin, Co. Carlow) who survived and seven who died.By his second marriage to Joan Morres he had one daughter Joan. His son Brian Kavanagh married Ellen daughter of Sir Thomas Colclough of Tintern. The Borris Kavanaghs as they became known, espoused the Protestant religion and during the upheavals of the next three decades they managed to preserve their estates. In the 1641 rebellion, although Protestant, they were protected by the fact that they were Kavanaghs and in the aftermath of the Cromwellian epoch they were saved because they were Protestants.

Shortly after this Morogh Bacach McDonell Reagh of Carriglead who had gone into exile in England returned and made a will on 1st November, bequeathing his lands to his brother Brian and in default of the latter's legitimate issue, to Morgan McBrian Kavanagh of Polmonty. He also made mention of two sisters in the will, one was



Borris House, home of the Borris Kavanaghs since 1600 (courtesy of Andrew Kavanagh)

Onora and the other was Una. One of the sisters was married to Edmond McShane Butler and the other was living at Carriglead as a mistress to an informer whose identity is concealed under the letters 'E.H. His aunt Grainne Ni Mhorogh was also mentioned.

Murrough McEdmond, the son of Edmond McArt McDowling was holding the lease of Curralane as executor of his father's will. Crimthainn McMaurice McDowling (Dowling was the 4th son of Diarmuid Laimhdearg) had a lease of 1/4 of Ballaman from Sir Richard Masterson, half of the same townsland being held by his son Donough McCrimthainn.

Gerald McMurtagh Kavanagh of Garryhill, conveyed property to Walter Sinnott and Dermot McDowling Kavanagh, containing Garryhill and other townlands.

Murrough Bacach mentioned as having made a will in the year 1622 was beheaded by John Butler, a brother of Sir Edward Butler of Graigue afterwards Viscount Galmoy. The reason for this murder, committed in 1625 is not known but it is probable it was in connection with some land dealings.

An inquisition found that the lands of Ballyloughan, Coolnacupoge,Aghabeg, the two Corries, two Ballinrushs, Ballytiglea and part of Ballynagrane were in the possession of the late Bryan McDonough Kavanagh of Ballyloughan, who paid the Bagenals £4 annual rent.

Morgan McBrian Kavanagh of Borris and Polmonty was dispossessed of some of the lands that were in dispute with Henry Brounker in the earlier part of the century and he lost Ballyanne to Nicholas Bossher. These events occurred in 1627.

In a settlement made by Derby McDowling Kavanagh of Tincurry, in 1628, Dermot McEdmond McMurrough was last in remainder. He was styled in the Civil Survey as of Fenagh in Co. Kilkenny and proprietor of lands in Knockanknagigh (part of Rathpaidinboy). He had two sons: A;lexander of whom there is no further information and Edmond who had a son Dermot. Dermot had three sons Andrew and Matthew who both died single persons before 1690 and Art, whose son Brian Kavanagh of Ballindrimy (perhaps Bolindrum) exhibited a Bill in the Irish Court of Chancery in 1690 claiming that following the Act of Settlement he was entitled as heir in Tail to the settled estates of Derby McDowling Kavanagh.

Dermot McDowling of Tomgarrow and later of Ballindoney had two sons - Art, who was living when the settlement was made and Dowling McDermot, whose genealogy along with that of Robert Byrne of Downs was found on a piece of paper seized from Byrne

when he landed in Ireland in 1667. Ths prompts the question of whether there was a connection between the Kavanaghs and the Byrnes of Downs. Dowling was dead before 1690. Another mentioned in the settlement was Murtagh McDowling a brother of Derby. Nicholls notes that a sister of Derby McDowling, Anne, was married to Gerrot Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald of Glassealy, Co. Kildre. Daniel McArt McDermot of the sept of Murtagh (a grandson of Dermot the 6th son of Murtagh) was next in remainder after Edmond McDowling and following him were Gerald McDermot the 4th son of Dermot mentioned above and after him came his nephew Murrough McMorris of Ballendoney.

Lord Falkland the Deputy, in a report on the state of Leinster stated that 'although the strong septs of the Omores and O'Conors and some of the Kavanaghs are well weeded out, yet many of them remain alive and it may be doubted would returne...Divers of the Kavanaghs remain yett in Co. Wexford a hardy and unquiet people...the woods of Shillealagh enjoyed by Mr. Chambers, an Englishman, if a company of foote or a ward be not placed there, the Country may be disquieted..the Undertakers of whom only two dwell constantly here have lett their lands in a manner alltogether to the natives who have no assurance of their possessions and are much discontented.'

At the same time Lord Esmonde who got a grant of lands near Gorey noted that there were bands of idlemen wandering about demanding provisions and drink and terrifying honest people.

Honora the wife of Phelim Kavanagh of Knockangarrow who was attainted in the early part of the century died in 1630 and the lands which she held were granted to Sir Philip Percival as assignee of a Mr. Cusack of Dublin a merchant, who had perhaps acquired Honora's interest. Honora had a son Maurice who was unmarried at the time of his mother's death.

Gerald Kavanagh of Garryhill died in 1630 also. He was the son of Muriertagh Og who had refused the title of King of Leinster. He was married to a daughter of Muriertagh Og of Ballyloo by whom he had two daughters viz: Onora, married to Maurice McBrien of Borris, and Una the wife of Teig Byrne. By his second liason to anastasia Fitzgerld he had three sons and one daughter Clara. His three sons were: Maurice who died a s.p. in 1623; Edward of Raheenleigh who had four sons Murtagh, Maurice, Bryan and Donough all living in 1630; Gerald Og was the youngest of the sons of Gerald of Garryhill, but there is no further notices of him.

As was now the common practise among the landowners who

were learning the hard way that the English law had to be obeyed if property was to be preserved Morgan McBrian McCahir made a will, leaving all his property to his eldest son. Just as the sons of English landowners made suitable matches for themselves so the sons of Morgan branched out and sought suitable heiresses. Arthur, his 4th son married Mary the daughter of Edmond Fitzgerald or Barron of Brownsford, Co. Kilkenny.

Daniel McEdmond McDonnell McGerad of the sept of Edmond the 5th son of Dermot Laimhdearg joined in granting a rent charge to Arthur, the son of Morgan McBrian Kavanagh of Borris. The other party may have been Dowling McMoroghe McMorish of Ballygobban, whose name appears on deeds for this year.

Cahir McDonagh of Monamolin who made the settlement in 1608, died and left a son Brian McCahir, aged 22 at the time of his father's death in 1634.

The transition was more difficult for younger sons who perhaps were unable to find heiresses and had to resort to robbery. It was noted that the left side of the Barrow, had always been 'infested with rebellious Kavanaghs, Keatings and others, idle retainers of the Kavanaghs who lived by robbery and had the shelterof the woods of Ross, Dunbrody and Tintern. They had many friends and sympathizers and defied the sheriff of the county and his possee.

The name of Dowling McMoroghe McMorish appeared on a deed in 1635. His son, Maurice McDowling of Ballynacoolagh, was a party to the deeds. He was married to either Elizabeth Butler or Katherine Roche of Newbay, Co. Wexford.

The following year, Morgan McBrian McCahir died and was buried in the church of St. Moling. By this time Charles his 2nd son had married Una, daughter of Sir Brian McHugh Og McMahon and widow of Gerald Byrne of Roscrea. Edmond McDowling the grandon of Dermot the 6th son of Murtagh McDhiarmad Laimhdearg also died and his estates were divided between his five sisters, Margery, Margaret, Ellen, Joan and Grany, two of whom were married to Donough McKeogh of Annagh and William Doyle of Fort Chichester. Another of the older generation of Kavanaghs to die peacefully about this time was Maurice McBrian of Knockscur, Ballybrack and Lissalican. He was survived by his wife and one son Dermot 'Lawgerig' (Laimhdearg) Kavanagh. General Derby Kavanagh who entered the Austrian sevice was his grandson.

When the Great Rebellion of 1641 broke out the Kavanaghs of Clonmullen were to the fore. Sir Morgan Kavanagh was the main organiser and director of affairs in the North of the county. The

Rebellion signalled the start of many incidents of people settling old scores and there are numerous examples of robberies and murders being committed. John Simms of Templeshmbo was robbed of goods to the value of £136 by tenants and servants of Sir Morgan Kavanagh. Some of the Briens of the Duffry who were still considerable landowners in the district around Marshallstown, were involved in robbing the Inn of a man called Plummer, a Scots Protestant who took refuge, with his family in the castle of Enniscorthy, which was adjacent to the Inn. Anthony Kavanagh and Eneas Kavanagh from the Gorey area were involved in capturing the castle itself later in the war (1643). Maurice Kavanagh of Kilbegg was accused (with others) of robbing Wm. Leigh, a tanner of Inch, and of taking the cattle from the estate of Edward Chichester of Prospect (Courtown).

All the robberies were done in the name of the King, who the rebels said was a Catholic and had given orders for the extirpation of the Protestant religion out of the two Kingdoms. Many of the former enemies of the Kavanaghs such as the Synotts, Mstersons and the gentlemen of the Wexford Pale such as Devereuxs, Colcoughs etc. were on their side in the Great Rebellion which seemed to be a war between Catholics and Protestants.

Colonel Arthur Kavanagh was killed in a battle near Ballyhack and Sir Morgan hanged Lieutenant Esmonde and ten soldiers from Duncannon fort at Ballyhack in reprisal. Daniel Kavanagh of Clonmullen, Sir Morgan's son was named as a Confederate. Dermot (Derby) McDowling Kavanagh of Tincurry was killed at the battle of Kilrush (Co. Kildare). and Sir Morgan himself was killed in a battle between the Confederates and Parlamentarians near New Ross on St. Patrick's Day 1642. 700 of the Confederate were killed, in that most decisive battle.

Henry Masterson of Monaseed a Protestant was captured and imprisoned in Clonmullen castle by Sir Morgan Kavanagh's men the following year and three or four Kavanaghs were hanged by Richard FitzHenry a Commissoner for executing Martial Law in Wexford, who sided with Lord Ormond and the Loyalists.

Daniel Og Kavanagh, Sir Morgan's son, who was detained a prisoner in Dublin where he was at school was ransomed in this year. He subsequently became the accepted leader and commander of the party of Owen Roe O'Neill, in South Leinster.

Daniel Kavanagh's property of Clonmullen was confiscated following his attainder. It included Clonmullen, Kilbranish, Barragh and Carrigduff.

The Kavanaghs, under Charles Kavanagh of Carrigduff and Clonmullen (the son of Sir Morgan) and the O'Byrnes joined with the party of Highlanders brought to Wexford by the Marquis of Antrim, a Confederate General. They were defeated in a battle at Davidstown (near Enniscorthy). There was a skirmish in Clonegal village between both sides but neither seemed to have the stomach for a battle and went their ways with little loss on either side. Neither the Byrnes nor Kavanaghs seem to have been involved. The road through Clonegal was the main road to Wexford at that time. In the list of Leinster forces in the county and on the borders of Wicklow and Carlow we find tht Charles Kavanagh was a Colonel and in the foot soldiers under Colonel Hugh Byrne, Daniel Kavanagh (eldest son of Sir Morgan of Clonmullen) was a Lieut. Colonel.

Anthony Kavanagh of Ballinruddy was given a Commission to raise men to oppose Cromwel in 1649 and Art McDermot Kavanagh of Tincurry, whose father was killed at the battle of Kilrush, was a captain of horse in the regiment of his cousin Daniel Og Kavanagh of Clonmullen.

Captain Todd who was placed in command of Enniscorthy castle was killed by one Daniel Farrell who held the castle for some time. He later surrendered it to Colonel Cooke and was permitted to leave it. He joined the regiment of Col. Daniel Kavanagh and as a captain was allowed to go with him to Spain.

When the war with Cromwell was still being contested, an order was issued from Dublin excluding the County of Wicklow and all the northern parts of Co. Wexford north of the Slaney and the Duffry from protection. The only exceptions were the licensed occupiers of Castles and forts or people who dwelt within one musket shot of them. All others were to remove to places under protection or they would be liable to be 'taken, slayne and destroyed as enemies and their goods and cattle taken as spoyle'. They were to be accomodated in waste land within the protected areas. A further fortnight was allowed for the removal of corn. In March, an order was issued giving the soldiers leave to take 'preys and bootys' half of which were to be given to the state. Following this order Colonel Charles Kavanagh and Captain Art McDermot Kavanagh were in action and killed 50 of Cromwell's soldiers at Scarawalsh. They then attacked and pillaged the town of Enniscorthy. Colonel Cooke took the field against them carrying fire and sword through the Macmores, the Kinsellaghs, Ferns and around Gorey. He then proceeded up into Wicklow burning, robbing and destroying as he went.

In order to protect the inocent people Colonel Daniel Og Kavanagh of Clonmullen, with his troops submitted to Cromwellian forces in 1652. His brother Charles or Cahir, was a major in Daniel's regiment, and was a prisoner in this year.

In 1653 Murrough McMaurice McDowling the grandson of Dowling McMoroghe McMorish of Ballyleigh and Ballygobban, had his lands confiscated and he settled at Dromin on the estates of the Borris Kavanaghs.He was married to Katherine FitzHenry of Coolback, Co. Wexford. The forfeitures of many of the Kavanaghs was ordered in common with most of the Catholic proprietors of the country. these included Anthony Kavanagh and his family and Morgan Kavanagh (long dead) and his sons Charles and Daniel proprietors of large estates in and around Bunclody, Clonegal, Ryland,Kilmyshall and Templeshanbo.

It was noted in the Civil Survey that Murrough McEdmond of Curralane was the proprietor of Ballybaun and Brian McCahir who was the heir of Cahir McDonough mentioned in 1634 was proprietor of Monamolin. Dermot McEdmond McDonnell McGerald was noted as the proprietor of half of Ballycrinnigan while the other half was owned by Gerad McMoriertagh Kavanagh and Dermot 'Lawegreg' Kavanagh, whose father Maurice McBrian McCahir must have purchased it from the old proprietors.

Dowling McMoroghe McMorish of Ballygobban was still living during the period the Cvil Survey was being conducted, but appears to have died beore the Cromwellian Confiscations. Owen McDonnell Kavanagh of Ballaghmore forfeited his lands and Murtagh the grandson of Gerald McMoriertagh of Garryhill (d. 1630) forfieited 1800 acres in Rathnageeragh, Drumphea and Milltown. These lands eventually passed into the hands of the Ponsonbys and with Grangefort which they acquired following the Cromwellian confiscations they formed the Carlow estate of the Earl of Bessborough.

The lands of Ballyloughan, Coolnacupoge, Aghabeg, the two Corries, the two Ballinrushs, Ballytiglea and part of Ballynagrane were forfeited by Art Kavanagh of Ballyloughan the son of Bryan McDonough the former Sheriff of Carlow and Constable of Ballyloughan Castle. The estates of Ballyloughan were granted to the Beauchamps who by their intermarriage with the Bagenals brought Ballyloughan into the Bagenal family. By a strange twist of fate the property in Idrone passed to, among others, the Bruens who intermarried with the Kavanaghs of Boris in the last century.

Dermot Kavanagh of Ballybrack and Lisselican, a grandson of

Bryan McCahir forfeited his lands which passed to the Stopfords and were in the possession of the descendant of Stopford, the Earl of Courtown in the last century. The family of Ballyknockstaggard also forfeited,in the person of Gerald McEdmond McBryan McCahir, but it was granted to a son of Gerald's first cousin Thomas McTirlough Kavanagh. Thomas was also given the property of Ballybranagh, which was forfeited by Gerald Kavanagh of Ballybrannagh. He owned Rocksavage in his own right and though it too had been forfeited he got it back in 1663 when he was declared an 'Innocent'.

These were the high profile Kavanaghs. Many of the Kavanaghs mentioned in the history of the 16th century had gone into obscurity and many others, who had not come to the notice of the Commonwealth officials, became common labourers and tenants to more influential people. The following list taken from the Book of Survey and Distribution shows the extent of Kavanagh lands, the owners and the Grantees under the Cromwellian arrangement.

| Name | Addresses of Lands | Acres | Grantee |
|---|---|---|---|
| Daniel Kavanagh | Ballymurtagh | 135 | Solomon Richards |
| Daniel Kavanagh | Garryfelun | 95 | Solomon Richards |
| Maurice Kavanagh | Ballinrush | 890 | Philip Williams<br>Jas Underwood<br>Bishop of Ferns P<br>Sam Blacknell<br>Devereux Spratt |
| Brian Kavanagh P. | Monesleboye<br>Toberbride<br>Ascanmore<br>Kilsanecame | 1,800 | Bryan Kavanagh |
| Sir Morgan Kavanagh | Ryland<br>Cloneybyrne | 960 | Earle of Anglesy |
| | Ballypracus | 616 | Earl of Anglesey<br>Patk. Colclough<br>Capt. J. Wakeham |
| | Boolavocran<br>Killinure<br>Craan | 849 | Walter Butler<br>Oliver Wheeler<br>Patk. Colclough |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sir Morgan Kavanagh and Dudley Colclough | Rossard<br>Booladorcha<br>Kyle<br>Monparson | 1,265 | Henry Kenny<br>Earl Anglesey<br>Oliver Wheeler |
| Sir Morgan Kavanagh | Ballymore<br>Ballycrystal<br>Carrignagree<br>Clorogbeg | 596 | Oliver Wheeler |
| Brian McDanl Ower | Tomgarrow<br>Coolgarrow<br>Munfin<br>Ballyduff | 1,279 | Margt. Thickness<br>Oliver Wheeler<br>Thos. Wood<br>Thos. Evans |
| Derby Kavanagh and Lysagh McMur. Bryan | Tomahurra<br>Tomnakipeen | 467 | Alex Barrington<br>Patk. Colclough |
| Derby Kavanagh | Coolree | 317 | Alex Barrington |

After the war, Charles Kavanagh of Clonmullen, with his brother James, petitioned to be exempted from transplantation to Connaught. His petition appeared to be successful but in order to get it he had to change allegience.

Dudley Kavanagh was sentenced to be shipped to the Barbadoes for not transplanting into Connaught a year later, but it is not known if he was in fact transported.

Charles Kavanagh of Clonmullen, was employed by the Cromwellian administration to hunt tories in Co. Carlow. He lived at Carrigduff (near Bunclody).

Donal O'Derry described as the Tory Governor of Leinster and 'a Rogue of the First Magnitude' who was the 'dread of Leinster' and who was aided by Art McKrean and Dermot Ryan, was by treachery captured by Colonel Pritty and executed at Wexford. His wife was captured in November and shipped off to the Barbadoes with 4 priests, 16 men and 19 other women and children. Donal O'Derry was undoubtedly, one of the dispossessed Kavanaghs and may have been Donal Kavanagh the owner of 200 acres in Garryphelim in 1650.

Another to appeal successfully was Thomas McTurlough of Ballynabranagh a grandson of Brian McCahir who claimed as an Innocent and was restored to the estates. He was the ancestor of the family of Rocksavage.

Simon Kavanagh the son of Turlough of Ballynabranagh but settled in Inch was outlawed. Following the Act of Settlement, the lands of Ballybrack, Lissalican and Carriglead which were held by Dermot 'lawgerig' son of Maurice McBrian were seized by James Kavanagh heir to the estates which had been confiscated following the Cromellian Confiscations. James was outlawed as a Jacobite in this year.

Morgan McArt who was mentioned in 1675 as heir to the estates of Borris was outlawed as a Jacobite as was Charles Kavanagh of Carrigduff and his son Ignatius in 1690. Ignatius became a captain in the Irish Brigade in France and was married to Katherine Browne of Galway. He had three sons, Andrew, Nicholas (resident at Nantes in 1776) and Charles.

# Chapter 14

# The Main Septs Of The Kavanaghs

N THIS chapter, I will endeavour to show the main septs of the Kavanaghs as they developed in the 16th century, when the clan numbers were so great that members had to be settled in different parts of Ui Cinnsealaigh.

The main stems of the Kavanaghs gave their names to septs in the early years of their expansion, such as the sept of Donal Reagh or the sept of Art Bui. But as the families of these men expanded they were settled in certain areas and they established families which, as they in turn became extended, formed new sub septs. These sub septs then were given the names of the districts they inhabited, e.g. the sept f Coolnaleen, or the sept of Tincurry.

In the documentation of the period there was sometimes an overlapping of names of septs. For example, the sept of Art Bui might be referred to as the sept of Clonmullen or the sept of Art More might be called the sept of the Leverock.

As Kenneth Nicholls rightly states in his document on the septs of the Kavanaghs, not all the septs have been identified and names crop up occasionally that cannot be placed in any particular sept.

The Kavanaghs as we know descended from Donal, and the first Kavanaghs we hear about after him, are Murtagh and Art, killed in 1282. But there must have been many others living at that time also. MurtagH and Art were assumed to be brothers, but it is more probable they were cousins. The simple analysis of the growth of a family in modern times will help bear out what is contended here.

A certain itinerant, who is well known in Ui Cinnsealaigh, had his first son about 50 years ago. Today he has in the region of one hundred descendants between children, grandchildren and great grandchildren.

In the early centuries of the rise of the Kavanaghs we only hear about the men who were kings. Under the Brehon system the other members were only landowners for life and if a king's sons could not attain to the office their father held, as often as not they faded into obscurity. That is not to say they died out. The families continued on but it became much more difficult for them to attain any upward

social mobility.

According as the Normans began to exert more influence on the way the clans lived and behaved, the extended families of the rulers began to come more into the limelight. This was especially so in the late 15th and early 16h centuries. While primogeniture was not part of the Brehon laws, the idea of primogeniture was probably attractive to many of the leading men of the Kavanaghs as it would secure their families in the future. The alacrity with which they began to adapt in the mid 16th century is an indication of their willingness to change.

In the following pages I will delineate the descent of the following septs.

1. The septs of Dermot Lamhdearg:

i The Septs of Borrishamon and Templeudigan
ii The Septs of Booldorcha, Coolback and Carriglead
iii The Sept of Ballinvalley
iv The Sept of Borris
v The Sept of Ballynabranagh
vi The Septs of Ballybrack and Lisselican
vii The Sept of Clonleigh
viii The Sept of Ballyanne
ix The Septs of Clonleigh and Ballyanne
x The Sept of Ballybeg (parish of Ferns)
xi The Sept of Rathpaidin
xii The Sept of Tincurry
xiii The Septs of Tincurry, Curraduff and Ballyroebuck
xiv The Sept of Balybaun
xv The Septs of Ballaman, Monamolin and Ballybaun
xvi The Septs of Ballaman and Monamolin
xvii The Septs of Monamolin, Ballybaun and Tomanine
xviii The Sept of Ballycrinnigan
xix The Septs of Ballyleigh and Crompane

2. The septs of Donal Reagh:

i The Sept of Clonmullen (1)
ii The Sept of Clonmullen (2)
iii The Sept of Mangan
iv The Sept of Kilcolatrim
v The Sept of the Rower

vi The Sept of Ferns
vii The Sept of Clonhanrick and Knockangarrow
viii The Septs of Coolnaleen and Corranenecronaght
xix The Sept of Clanhanrick (2)
x The Sept of Coolnaleen (2)

3. The Septs of Art More:

i The Septs of the Leverock and Tinnahinch

4. The septs of Murrough Ballach (called the Carlow septs)

i The Septs of Garryhill and Ballaghmore
ii The Sept of Ballyloughan
iii The Sept of Ballytiglea
iv The Sept of Clan Altagh Donough
v The Sept of Graignamanagh
vi The Sept of Eanna
vii The Sept of Ratheaden
viii The Septs of Maurice and Donal

5. The Septs of Art More, brother of Murrough Ballach.

i The Septs of Balyloo and Park

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## The Septs of Borrishamon and Templeudigan

The Septs descended from Donough the eldest son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famousArt the McMurrough and King of Leinster

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh
Art More King of Leinster
Art, King of Leinster
Gerald Lord of Ferns
Dermot
Dermot Lamhdearg

Donough

Donal McDonagh
(Templeudigan/Borrishamon)
pardoned 1549/50/66

Brian McDonal McDonagh
(Templeudigan/Borrishamon)
Pardoned 1566/72/83/1601

Donough Og McDonagh
(Borrishamon)
pardoned 1566

Cahir Mcdonough Og
(Borrishamon)
Pardoned 1572/82

Edmond McBrian McDonagh
(Borrishamon)
pardoned 1601
made will 1634 leaving estate
to wife Elinor and son
Crimthinn

Crimthinn McBrian McD
(Borrishamon/Templeudigan)
Pardoned 1601/04

Brian McCrimthinn

Art McCahir
(Ballinaberney)
on Grand Jury
1608

Turlough
(Templeudigan)
Pardoned 1601

Donough McCahir
(Templeudigan)
Pardoned 1601

GeraldMcCahir
(Templeudigan)
Pardoned 1601

# The Septs of Booldorcha, Coolback, Carriglead

The Septs descended from Art McDermot Layard (Lamhdearg) the 2nd on of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh
Art More King of Leinster
Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns
Dermot
Dermot Lamhdearg

Art McDermot Layard

Gerald McArt
(Taking toll on the Barrow)
pardoned 1537/50

Murrough Baccach
pardoned 1550

Donal Reagh
pardoned 1537/50

Donal Reagh
(Booladorcha/
Polmonty)
pardoned
1566/71/87/97

Dermot Ower
(Booladorcha)
par. 1573/87

Dowling
(Booladorcha)
par. 1573

Edmond
(Booladorcha)
par. 1573

MurroughBaccach
(Carriglead)
Par.1600/01/02
noted outlaw
beheaded 1625 by
John Butler

Brian
McDonnel
(Carriglead)
Par. 1606

Edmond
McDermot
(Coolback)
Par. 1602/04

Gerald
McDermot
(Old Ross)
Par. 1602

Maurice Boy McDonal Reagh
(Booladorcha)
Pardoned 1566/70/71

# The Sept of Ballinvalley

The Septs descended from Art McDermot Layard the 2nd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh
Art More King of Leinster
Art, King of Leinster
Gerald Lord of Ferns
Dermot
Dermot Lamhdearg

Art McDermot Lamhdearg

Cahir McAirt
became the McMurrough 1547
forced to renounce title 1550
pardoned 1549/50 Made Baron of
Ballyanne 1554, d. 1554

Dermot McCahir McAirt
(Polmonty)
pardoned 1549/50
Tanaist to Murrough McMuiris
of Coolnaleen, Gave way to brother Brian, peacefully.

Maurice McDermot
(Ballinvalley)
Pardoned 1582
Attainted of felony 1589
owned half of Polmonty/Lisselican

Donagh McDermot
(Ballinvalley)
Pardoned 1566

## The Sept of Borris in Carlow

The Septs descended from Art McDermot Layard the 2nd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh
Art More King of Leinster
Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Art McDermot Lamhdearg

Cahir McAirt
became the McMurrough 1547
forced to renounce title 1550
pardoned 1549/50 Made Baron of
Ballyanne 1554, d. 1554

Brian McCahir
Chief of his sept and name
pardoned 1549/50/69/71
Died 1578

Morgan McBrian McCahir
pardoned 1582/1601
brought up in English schools
Got Borris from Ryans 1621, d. 1636

Brian (Polmonty/ Borris) | Charles | Arthur | Richard | Gerald

Morgan
d. 1662

Morgan

Morgan McArt
(outlawed as a Jacobite)

# The Sept of Ballynabranagh

The septs descended from Art McDermot Layard the 2nd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh
Art More King of Leinster
Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns
Dermot
Dermot Lamhdearg

Art McDermot Lamhdearg

Cahir McAirt
became the McMurrough 1547
forced to renounce title 1550
Pardoned 1549/50 Made Baron of
Ballyanne 1554. d. 1554

Brian McCahir
Chief of his sept and name
pardoned 1549/50/69/71
Died 1578

Gerald McBrian
(Ballynabranagh)
pardoned 1587/91/1600/01/02/03

Turlough Kavanagh
(married Mary Byrne of Courtfoyle, Wicklow)

Gerald McTurlough
(Ballynabranagh)
d. 1657

Thomas McTurlough
(Ballynabranagh)
restored to estates
1663, living 1684
Ancestor of the
Rocksavage
Kavanaghs

Simon of Seiskin
outlawed as a Jacobite
Ancestor of the Inch
Kavanaghs

## The Sept of Ballybrack and Lisselican

The septs descended from Art McDermot Layard the 2nd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh
Art More King of Leinster
Art, King of Leinster
Gerald Lord of Ferns
Dermot
Dermot Lamhdearg

Art McDermot Lamhdearg

Cahir McAirt
became the McMurrough 1547
forced to renounce title 1550
pardoned 1549/50 Made Baron of
Ballyanne 1554, d. 1554

Brian McCahir
Chief of his sept and name
pardoned 1549/50/69/71
Died 1578

Maurice McBrian
(Knockscur)
married to Honora Kavanagh
of Garryhill, d. 1638

Dermot Lamhdearg
(Ballybrack/Lisselican)
ordered to transplant to
Galway in 1656

Maurice

General Derby Kavanagh
(in Austrian Service)

James

James
(claimed lands in 1689)
outlawed as a Jacobite

# The Sept of Clonleigh

The septs descended from Art McDermot Layard the 2nd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Art McDermot Lamhdearg

Cahir McAirt
became the McMurrough 1547
forced to renounce title 1550
pardoned 1549/50 Made Baron of
Ballyanne 1554, d. 1554

Crimthinn
(hostage for Brian McCahir 1569
pardoned 1570/71

Donal McCrimthinn
McCahir
Pardoned 1591

Edmond McCrimthinn
of Clonleigh

Gerald McCrimthinn
of Clonleigh

Both attainted of felony
and robbery at Wexford
1585/86

## The Sept of Ballyanne

The septs descended from Art McDermot Layard the 2nd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Art McDermot Lamhdearg

Cahir McAirt
became the McMurrough 1547
forced to renounce title 1550
pardoned 1549/50 Made Baron of
Ballyanne 1554. d. 1554

Murtagh McCahir
pardoned 1566/70/71
Attainted 1579

Murrough McMoriertagh
pardoned 1582

## Septs of Clonleigh and Ballyanne

The septs descended from Art Mcdermot Layard the 2nd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Art McDermot Lamhdearg

Murrough McArt
pardoned 1550. Defendant
in a suit with Jasper Busher 1553
for Ballyanne

Donough
pardoned 1550

Brian McDonoughMcMoriertagh
pardoned 1560 as of
Clonleigh

Gerald McDonagh McMoriertagh
pardoned 1573/77 as of
Ballyanne

## The Sept of Ballybeg

The septs descended from Murtagh the 3r son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster, Murtagh had six sons in all, but only four had issue.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Murtagh

Crimthinn McMoriertagh
pardoned 1549/50 as of
Oulart in Tincurry, Barony of Scarwalsh

Donough McCrimthinn
pardoned 1566/71/72 as of
Ballybeg

Dermot McCrimthinn
pardoned 1572 as of
Ballybeg

# The Sept of Rathpaidin

The septs descended from Murtagh the 3rd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Murtagh had six sons in all, but only four had issue.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

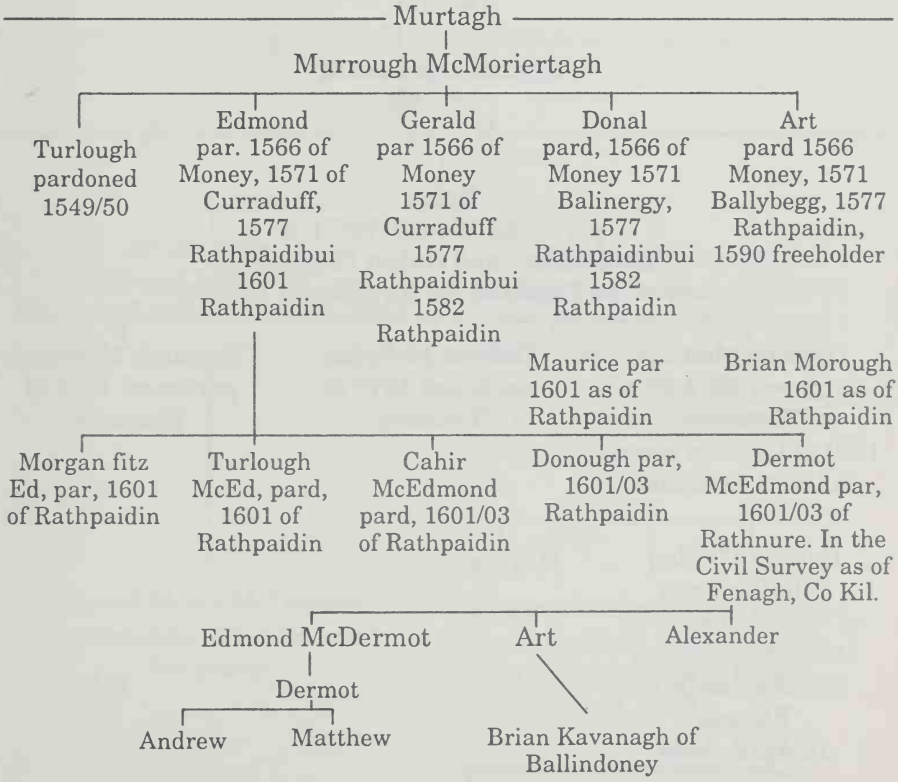
Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg



# The Sept of Tincurry

The septs descended from Murtagh the 3rd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Murtagh had six sons in all, but only four had issue.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Murtagh

Brian
pardoned 1549/50/66/71 of
Ballindoney and Oulart (Tincurry)
one of the Chiefs of the Kavanaghs 1569/70

Dowling McBrian
pardoned 1571/77 of
Tincurry
1601 of Coleran served
in the Netherlands

Dermot McBrian
pardoned 1577 of
Tincurry

Donough McBrien
pardoned 1577 of
Tincurry

Dermot (Derby)
of Ballindoney
m. Una daughter of
Donal Spainneach
Killed at battle of
Kilrush
15 April, 1642

Murtagh

Art McDermot
of Tincurry

Dowling McDermot
of Tincurry

## Septs of Tincurry, Curraduff and Ballyroebuck

The septs descended from Murtagh the 3rd son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Murtagh had six sons in all, but only four had issue.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh
Art More King of Leinster
Art, King of Leinster

Gerad Lord of Ferns

Dermot
Dermot Lamhdearg

Murtagh

Dermot

Art McDermot
pardoned 1566/71/77 of
Curraduff and of Tincurry 1587

Daniel Mcart McDermot
in remainder after Edmond
his cousin

Dowling Mcdermot
pardoned of Curraduff 1571/77
and Balybegg 1598, Also of
Ballyroebuck. Married to a
daughter of
Wm. Esmonde of Johnstown

Edmond McDowling Mcdermot
got a grant in the Plantation
in Kilmichael near Gorey.
d. 1636.

## The Sept of Ballybaun

The septs descended from Dowling the 4th son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Dowling had five sons in all, but only four had issue. They were settled at Monamolin near Mount Leinster, Ballybaun and at Ballaman and Ballycadden in Kilrush parish.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

Art More King of Leinster

Art. King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Dowling

Gerald Carragh McDowling
pardoned in 1549/50 of
Ballybaun

Dowling McGerald Karagh
pardoned 1577 ofMonamolin and
of Ballybaun in 1582

## Septs of Ballaman, Monamolin and Ballybaun

The septs descended from Dowling the 4th son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Dowling had five sons in all, but only four had issue. They were settled at Monamolin, near Mount Leinster, Ballybaun and at Ballaman and Ballycadden in Kilrush parish.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Dowling

Art McDullyng
pardoned 1549/50 of
Ballaman

| Cahir | Donough | Donal | Murrough | Edmond | Gerald | Crimthinn |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| par. 1566 Ballaman | Par. 1577 of Monamolin Ballaman 1582 Balybaun 1590 | par. 1582 of Ballaman | par. 1582 of Mona-molin | par. 1582 of Ballaman Tyneranz 1587 | par. 1582 of Mona-molin | par. 1601 of Ballybaun |

Ballybaun 1591/1603
Leasee of Curralane, Kilrush parish from Mastersons early 1600's.

Murrough McEdmond
of Curralane 1622
Ballybaun in 1641

## Septs of Ballaman, Monamolin

The septs descended from Dowling the 4th son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Dowling had five sons in all, but only four had issue. They were settled at Monamolin, near Mount Leinster, Ballybaun and at Ballaman and Ballycadden in Kilrush parish.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh
Art More King of Leinster
Art, King of Leinster
Gerald Lord of Ferns
Dermot
Dermot Lamhdearg

Dowling

Maurice Mcdullyng
pard. of Ballycadden 1549
Monamolin 1577/82

Donough McMaurice
of Monamolin pard. 1577/82/1601

Cahir McDonough
pard. of Monamolin 1601/08
married to Onora Roche

Brian McCahir
of Monamolin 1641

Crimthinn McMaurice
pard. as of Monamolin 1577/82
Tyneranz 1587 and in 1622 had a
lease of 1/4 of Ballaman from
Richard Masterson

Donough McCrimthinn
Holder of lease of
half Ballaman 1622

## Septs of Monamolin, Ballybaun and Tomanine

The septs descended from Dowling the 4th son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Dowling had five sons in all, but only four had issue. They were settled at Monamolin, near Mount Leinster, Ballybaun and at Ballaman and Ballycadden in Kilrush parish.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg

Dowling

Brian McDowling
pard. 1550/82 of Monamolin

- Edmond McBrian par. 1582 as of Ballybaun
- TurloughMcBrian att. of felony with Edmond 1590
- Art McBrian pard. 1601 as of Tomanine
  - Turlough McArt proprietor of Tomanine 1641
- Donal McBrian pard. 1582/1601 Monamolin Tyneranz 1587

# The Sept of Ballycrinnigan

The septs descended from Edmond the 5th son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Edmond had one son. They were settled at Ballycrinnigan and Torra.

Murtagh Roe Kavanagh

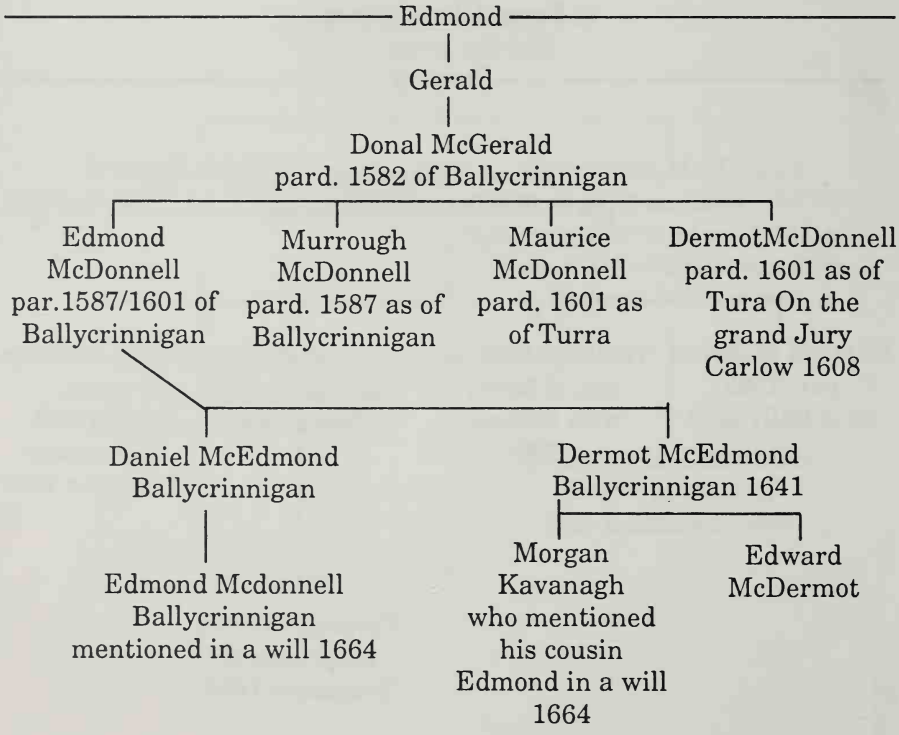
Art More King of Leinster

Art, King of Leinster

Gerald Lord of Ferns

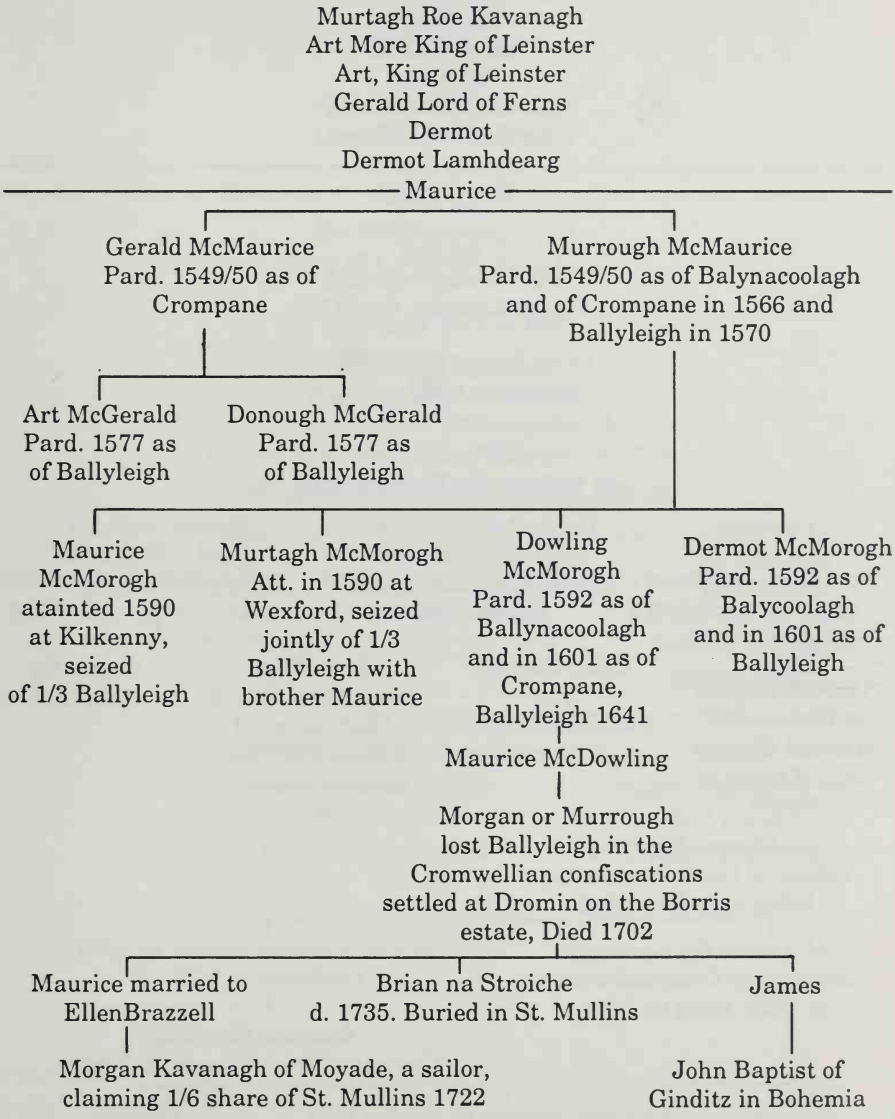
Dermot

Dermot Lamhdearg



# The Septs of Ballyleigh and Crompane

The septs descended from Maurice the 6th son of Dermot Lamhdearg, grandson of Gerald Lord of Ferns and great grandson of the famous Art the McMurrough and King of Leinster. Maurice had two sons. They were settled at Ballyleigh, Ballynacoolagh and Drummin.



# The Sept of Clonmullen

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, and his descent from Murtagh Kavanagh, who wa beheaded at Arklow in 1282, starting with the septs of Art Bui his eldest son.

Murtagh Kavanagh
Murrough
Murtagh Roe
Art More
Art the McMurrough
Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh

Art Bui
the McMurrough and
King of Leinster, died 1518

Murtagh Mcart Bui
the McMurrough d. 1547

Cahir Carragh
slain by the English 1538

Donough
executed by
White 1583

Donal Spainneach
Pard.
1582/93/1600/02
of Clonmulen.
Married Eleanor
dau. of Brian of
Borris

Sir Morgan Kavanagh
Officer in Confederate army
killed near Ross 1642

Col. Daniel Og Kavanagh
submitted to Cromwell's army
in 1652. Dead by 1654.

Cahir Oure McCahir
Pard. 1566/85 as of
Clonmullen slain by the
Englih 1585

Cahir Carragh
Par.
1582/85/97/1601/05
as of Clonmullen

Gerald McCahir
Pard. 1566/69/70
chief of the sept

Crimthinn
Pard. 1582/1601 of
Clonmulen, of
Clonee 1593 and
of Boolavoughran
1597

Garret Og
slain 1598

Charles (Cahir). Prisoner in 1652
Outlawed in 1690

Ignatius Kavanagh
Captain of Irish Brigade in France

Andrew

Nicholas resident in Nantes 1776

Charles

# The Sept of Clonmullen

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, starting with the septs of Art Bui his eldest son.

Murtagh Kavanagh
Murrough
Murtagh Roe
Art More
Art the McMurrough
Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh
Art Bui
the McMurrough and
King of Leinster, died 1518

Murtagh McArt Bui
the McMurrough d. 1547

Art Bui McMoriertagh
pard. 1547/52 as of Balloughna, (Gorey)
moved to Clonmullen. Pardoned 1558,
Chief of his sept. Murdered by Heron.

- Moriertagh McArt Bui killed by Piers Butler
- Crimthinn Mcart Bui of Clonmullen
- Donal Reagh McArt Bui dead by 1590 leaving two sons under 14 yrs.
  - Moriertagh McDonal dispossessed by his 2nd cousin Donal Spainneach
  - Cahir dispossessed by his 2nd cousin Donal Spainneach

# The Sept of Mangan

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, starting with the septs of Art Bui his eldest son.

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

Art the McMurrough

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh

Art Bui
the McMurrough and
King of Leinster, died 1518

Murtagh McArt Bui
the McMurrough d. 1547

Donough of Mongan

Cahir Duff
Pardoned 1556/75 as of Clonmullen.
Married to 1st daughter of Brian K. of Ballyloughan and 2nd to a sister of Fiach McHugh. She m. O'Connor of Offaly after Cahir's death

Donough
Pardoned 1583

Christopher McCahir Duff
Pardoned 1602 as of Annagh

Donough McCahir Duff
Pardoned 1583 as of Mongan

Crimthinn
Pardoned 1581

## The Sept of Killcolatrim

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, continuing with the sept of Brian Ballach his 2nd son.

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

Art the McMurrough

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh

Brian Ballach

Murtough — Donough

The sons of Brian were parties to the agreement between their uncle Maurice and Piers Butler in 1525 and Nicholls states that they are probably the ancestors of the Kavanaghs of Killcolatrim in Co. Carlow.

# The Sept of the Rower

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, continuing with the sept Cahir his 3rd son.

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

Art the McMurrough

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh

Cahir
(killed by the English of the County Wexford in 1481)

| Gerald | Murtagh | Dermot | Art | Donal |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| party to the 1530 transfer of lands to Piers Butler | Party to the 1530 transfer | Party to the 1530 transfer | Party to the 1530 transfer | Party to the 1530 transfer |
| Cahir Party to the 1530 transfer | | | | |

The lands conveyed were some of the lands of the Rower in Co. Kilkenny. The Kavanaghs of the Rower are descended from the sons of Cahir mentioned above.

# The Sept of Ferns

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, continuing with the sept of Gerald his 4th son.

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

Art the McMurrough

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh

Gerald
the McMurrough and King of Leinster
d. 1523 and buried at Leighlin

- Dermot
  - Murtough Mcdermot of Killinerle, on the Blackstairs
- Crimthinn Killed by Art Bui 1533
- Art Bui living 1539
  - Cahir
    - Donough McCahir Pard. 1585/1600 as of Ferns
      - Donal McDonough given a grant under the plantation and appears as Daniel Kavanagh of Garryphelim in the Civil Survey
- Murrough Captain of the K's in 1540
  - Walter Gallde hanged at Wexford in 1581
    - Gerald McWalter Pard. 1600/1603

# The Sept of Clanhanrick and Knockangarrow

The Septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, continuing with the septs of Muiris his 5th son.

Murtagh Kavanagh
Murrough
Murtagh Roe
Art More
Art the McMurrough
Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh

Muiris
King of Leinster d. 1531

Dermot d. 1531

Donal pardoned 1553/67/71 as of Clonhanrick. Captain of the K's 1570.

Maurice pardoned 1553. Slain by Masterson 1569

Cahir Pardoned 1571 as of Clanhanrick

Dermot McMaurice pard. 1571/96/1603 as of Knockangarrow, (Camolin Park) Justice of the Peace 1608. M. Mary Walsh widow of Edmond Eustace youngest son of Lord Baltinglass

Murtough McMaurice pard. 1587 as of Knockan-garrow

Brian McM. Par. 1571/85/87 and 1603 as of Knockan-garrow

Murrough McM. Pard. 1585/87 as of Knockan-garrow

Art Pard. 1596

Phelim succeeded to estates, Att. of Felony, escaped to Netherlands sea captain 1630. M. Honora dau of Donal Spainneach. His lands granted to Sir Philip Percival.

Maurice Pard. 1603

Edmond Pard. 1603

Maurice

## The Septs of Coolnaleen and Corranenecronaght

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, continuing with the septs of Muiris his 5th son.

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

Art the McMurrough

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh

Muiris
King of Leinster d. 1531
Murrough
became the McMurrough in 1554 hanged
drawn and quartered at Leighlin in 1557

| Maurice pardoned 1567/70 as of Coolnaleen, dead by 1572 | Crimthinn pard. 1567/70/81 as of Coolnaleen, captured 1581 and executed | Gerald pard. 1567/70 as of Coolnaleen. Ex. by Masterson | Art pard. 1567/70 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dermot McC. par. 1601 as of Corranenecronaght. got a grant of 121 acres in Rahinagee under Plantation but conveyed same to Ed. Medhop in 1619. | Donal McC. Pard. 1597 as of Corranene-cronaght | Donough McC. pard. 1597 as of Corranene-cronaght | Crimthinn pard. 1597/1601 |

Maurice Pard. 1601

## The Sept of Clanhanrick

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, continuing with the septs of Muiris his 5th son.

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

Art the McMurrough

Gerald Lord of Ferns

Donal Reagh

Muiris
King of Leinster d. 1531

Crimthinn
slain by Enna son of Edmond Duff
of the Kinsellaghs before 1548.

Donough McCrimthinn
pardoned 1581 as of Clonhenret (Clanhanrick)

## The Sept of Coolnaleen

The septs of Donal Reagh, the McMurrough and King of Leinster, continuing with the septs of Muiris his 5th son.

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

Art the McMurrough
Gerald Lord of ferns

Donal Reagh

Muiris
King of Leinster d. 1531

Donough Onetty
of Coolnaleen, died 1531.

Donough Onetty McDonough Onetty
pardoned 1571/81. Later attainted
and his lands of Kilmichael forfeited.

# The Septs of the Leverock and Tinnahinch

The sept of Art More, brother of Donal Reagh and son of Gerald, Lord of Ferns.

Murtagh Kavanagh

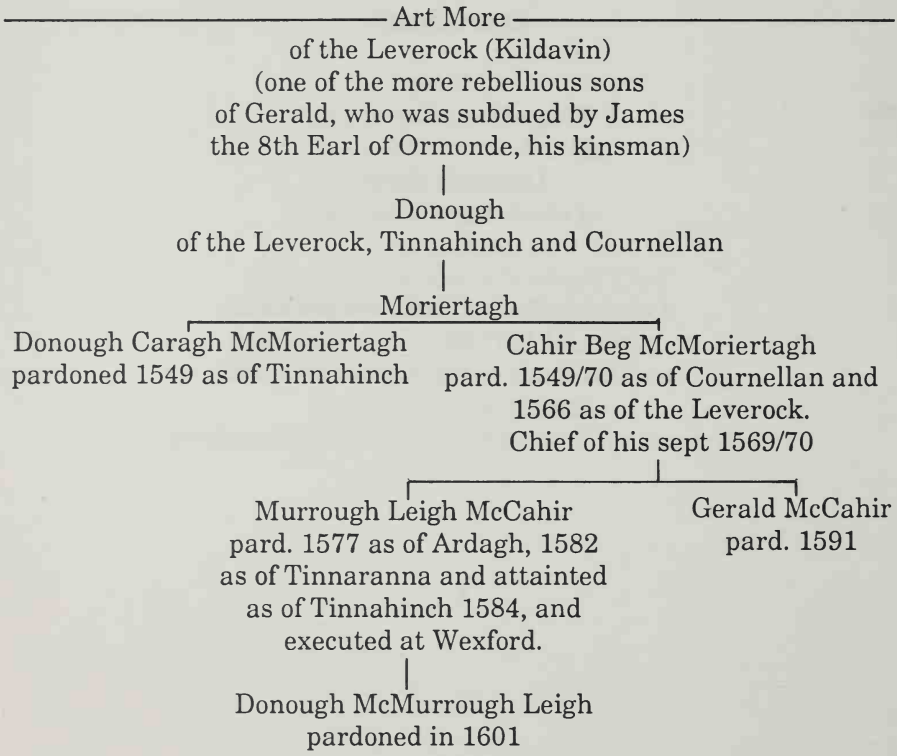
Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

Art the McMurrough

Gerald Lord of Ferns



## The Carlow Septs

The septs of the Kavanaghs descended from Donough the Blind, the son who succeeded Art the McMurrough, in 1417 and who was imprisoned in England for eight years. His son Murtough succeeded him as his other son Donal was killed in a feud for the title. Murtagh's son Murrough became the McMurrough after the death of Donal Reagh. The Kinship continued in his line through Murrough's grandson Murrough Ballach, who died in 1511 when the Kingship reverted back to the 'Wexford line' in the person of Art Bui of Enniscorthy.

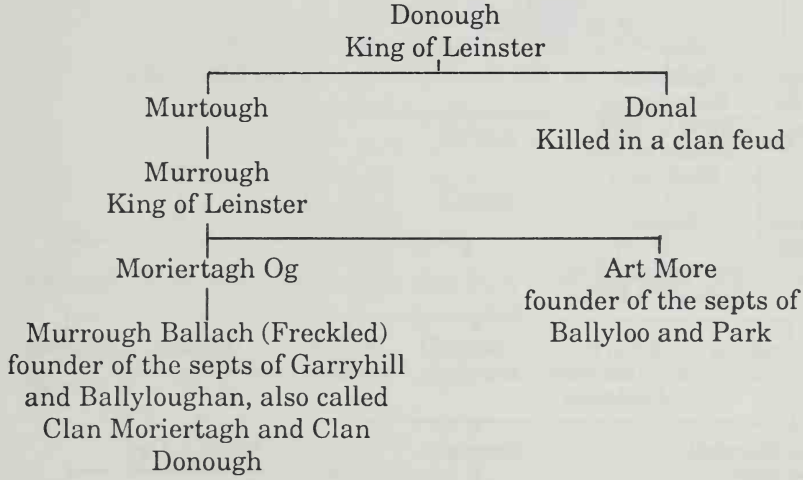
Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough

Murtagh Roe

Art More

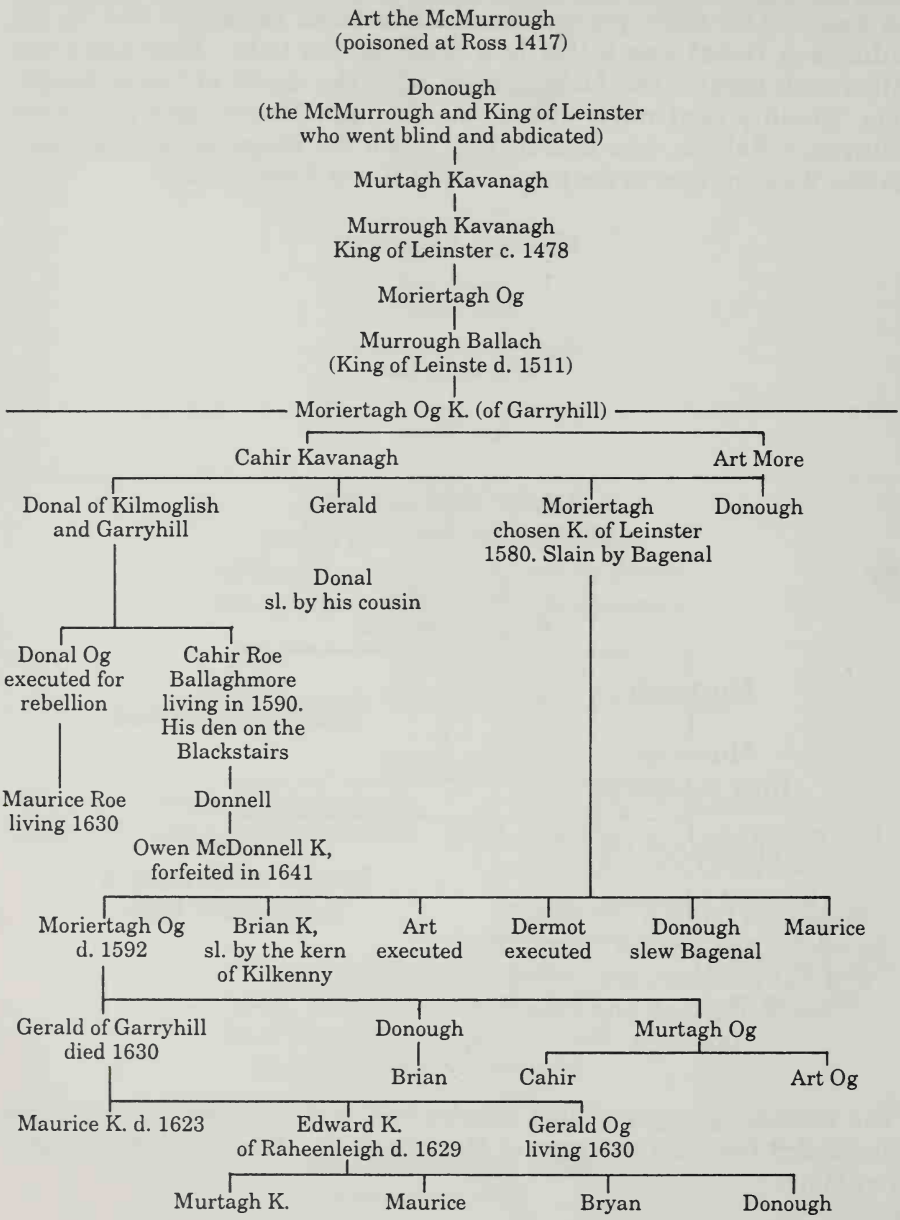
Art the McMurrough
poisoned at Ross in 1417




The remaining pages of this chapter will deal with the various septs descended from the two sons of Moriertagh Og, Murrough Ballach and Art More.

# The Septs of Garryhill and Ballaghmore

The septs descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ros in 1417.



# The Sept of Ballyloughan

The septs descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ross in 1417.

Art the McMurrough
(poisoned at Ross 1417)

Donough
(the McMurrough and King of Leinste
who went blind and abdicated)

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough Kavanagh
King of Leinster c. 1478

Moriertagh Og

Murrough Ballach
(King of Leinster d. 1511)

Donough (2nd son)
of Ballyloughan, head of Clan Donough
who had 8 sons, three of whom will be treated of below.

Art — Bryan — Tirlough

Cahir

Donough — Edmond — Moriertagh — Art Duff executed Carlow 1591 — Moriertagh — Maurice — Cahir

Bryan McDonagh
Sheriff of Carlow
1608.

Art Kavanagh of
Ballyloughan
forfeited in 1641

## The Sept of Ballytiglea

The septs descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ross in 1417.

Art the McMurrough
(poisoned at Ross 1417)

Donough
(the McMurrough and King of Leinste
who went blind and abdicated)

Murtagh Kavanagh

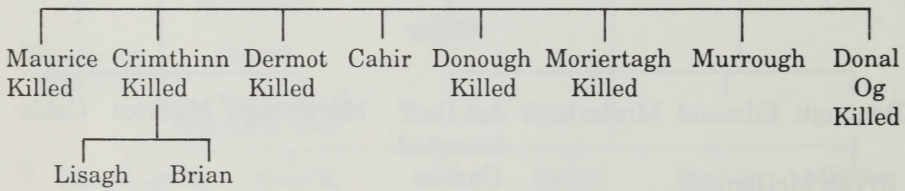
Murrough Kavanagh
King of Leinster c. 1478

Moriertagh Og

Murrough Ballach
(King of Leinster d. 1511)

Donough of Ballyloughan
whose 4th son will be treated of now

Donnell Reagh (4th son)
of Ballytiglea




All five sons of Donell Reagh were killed by the Kavanaghs of Garryhill, in a dispute over the chieftaincy, probably at the battle of Hacketstown.

# The Sept of Clan Altagh Donough

The sept descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ross in 1417.

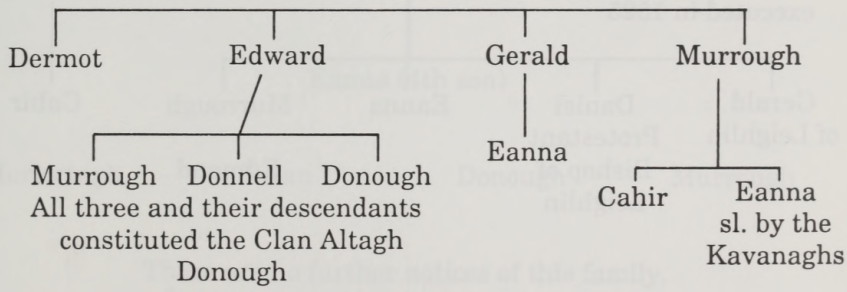
Art the McMurrough
(poisoned at Ross 1417)

Donough
(the McMurrough and King of Leinster
who went blind and abdicated)

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough Kavanagh
King of Leinster c. 1478
Moriertagh Og

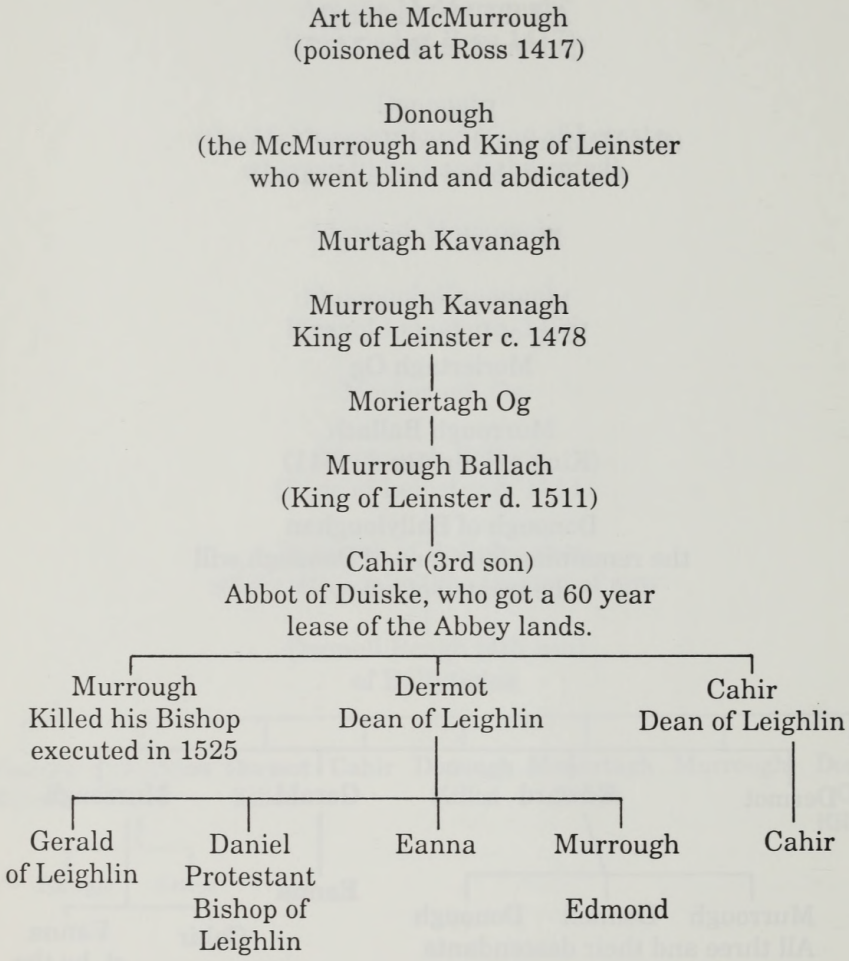
Murrough Ballach
(King of Leinster d. 1511)
|
Donough of Ballyloughan
the remaining four sons of Donough will
be treated of below.




Garryhill

## The Sept of Graige

The septs descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ross in 1417.



## The Sept of Eanna 4th son of Murrough Ballach

The septs descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ross in 1417.

Art the McMurrough
(poisoned at Ross 1417)

Donough
(the McMurrough and King of Leinste
who went blind and abdicated)

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough Kavanagh
King of Leinster c. 1478

Moriertagh Og

Murrough Ballach
(King of Leinster d. 1511)

Eanna (4th son)

Moriertagh Brian Donough Murrough

There are no further notices of this family.

# The Sept of Ratheaden

The septs descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ross in 1417.

Art the McMurrough
(poisoned at Ross 1417)

Donough
(the McMurrough and King of Leinster
who went blind and abdicated)

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough Kavanagh
King of Leinster c. 1478

Moriertagh Og

Murrough Ballach
(King of Leinster d. 1511)

Gerald 'Sutton' (5th son)
Constable of Ferns Castle

- Tirlough Duff of Ratheaden
  - Donal of R. slain
- Art ne Inche of Ballymoon Hostage for his father
  - Cahir
  - Donough
- James also a hostage
- Murrough of Ratheadan
  - Murrough
  - Dermot
- Brian Carragh who slew his uncle Maurice the 6th son of Murrough Ballagh
  - Moriertagh K.

## The Septs of Maurice and Donal the 6th and 7th sons of Murrough Ballach

The septs descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ross in 1417.

Art the McMurrough
(poisoned at Ross 1417)

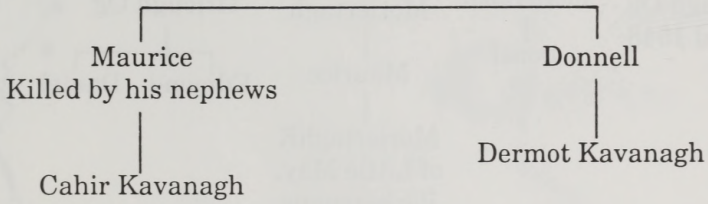
Donough
(the McMurrough and King of Leinster
who went blind and abdicated)

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough Kavanagh
King of Leinster c. 1478

Moriertagh Og

Murrough Ballach
(King of Leinster d. 1511)
Murrough had 7 sons five of whom have been treated of already. Hereunder the details of the last two sons



## The Septs of Ballyloo and Park

The septs descended from Donough, the 2nd son of Art the McMurrough, who was poisoned at Ross in 1417.

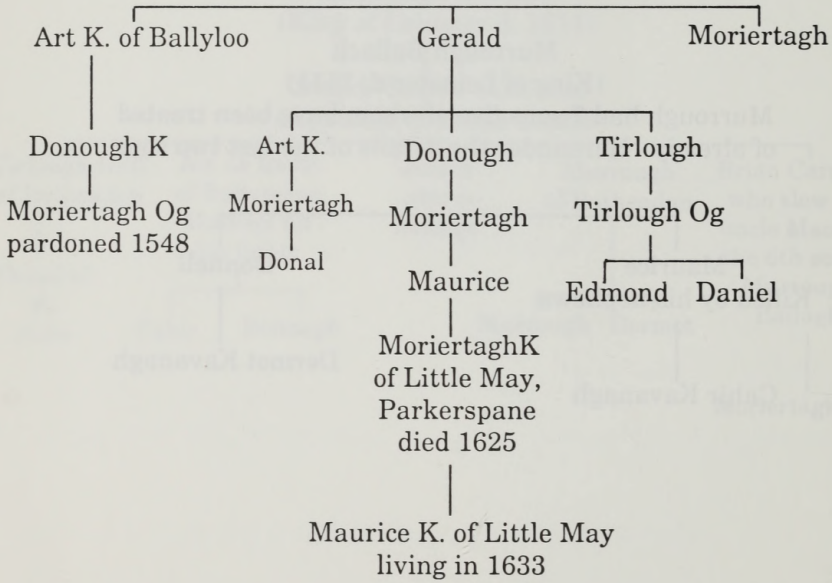
Art the McMurrough
(poisoned at Ross 1417)

Donough
(the McMurrough and King of Leinster
who went blind and abdicated)

Murtagh Kavanagh

Murrough Kavanagh
King of Leinster c. 1478

Art More
of Ballyloo, founder of the
septs of Ballyloo and Park, in Idrone.



Kavanagh settlements c. 1600

Second enclosure in letter of Sir Francis Knollys:

"To the R^t Hon^ble the Lord Keper and the reste of HM's Councill at Dublin Aucthorised in the Lord Justics Absence.[1]

"**A Note of certeine murders, praies, burninges, stelthes, Robberies, and spoyles, with other haynous offences of late comitted and done by the Septe of Arte boye within the County and libertie of Wexforde which hereafter are particularlie writtene and noted, a nombre of the licke being omitted for lacke of Remembrance, which have bene comitted and done by them within the County of Wexforde aforesalde and the lib'tie of the same of late.**

"1. In June 1577 the said Septe toke from ffitzHarries tenents 600 kine and "plowghe garrance,[2] and murdered a gentleman of the Nevells and divers poore "husbandmen.

"2. In 14 Nov. 1577 Donill Spaynaghe accompanied with divers evill disposed "persons Robbed and spoyled Siggenshaggarde,[3] and then and there toke from "thence 14 plough gerrans of the goods and cattells of Thomas Syggens learned in "the Lawes.

"3. In Nov. 1578 the foresaid Septe toke from the ffraunchizes of Rosse of "the goods and cattells of W^m Benet and others of Rosse, merchaunts, the value "of £100 st'.

"4. They toke oute of Kylbeg[4] in October 1578 the N° of 60 kyne and Gerrance "of the goods and chattels of Henry Mastersonne and others his tenants.

"5. The 10 September 1578 they toke out of the Growtowne[5] 140 kine and "gerrance of the goods, &c., of Richarde Stafforde, gent, and his tenants.

"6. In 8 August 1578 they toke out of Ballyduffe[6] 13 plowghe gerrance of the "goods, &c., of Tho^s Mastersonne and his tenants.

"7. The 12 August 1578 they toke from Bryene McMorraghe of Kyllhobbicke[7] "60 kyne and gerrance, and in householde stuffe [to] the value of 20 marks.

"8. In the 17 August 1578 they toke from the Inhabitants of Rosmynoke[8] "60 kyne and gerrance, and in household stuff [to] the value of 12 marks and mur- "dered a good husbandman.

"9. In the 9 Sept. 1578 they toke from Cahire McMorraghe of Kylhobbicke "65 kyne and gerrance.

"10. The 13 Nov. 1578 they toke out of the Corballyes[9] 15 plowghe gerrance "of the goods, &c., of Donyll Gaynckaghe.

"11. The 12 May 1578 they toke from Kyldeyse[10] 17 stode mares of the goods, "&c., of Donill Gainkaghe.

"12. The 3 Marche 1578 the Septe of Arte boy within mencioned toke from "Donill Gainckaghe 2 plowgh gerrans.

"13. In the 14 Nov. 1578 they toke from the Currane[1] 40 kine and gerrans, "a goode hors price 20 marks,[2] and in household stuffe [to] the value of 16 marks.

"14. The 12 Feb. 1578[9] they toke from the Rahyn[3] 11 gerrance of the goods, "&c., of Dermott McDonill.

"15. Thei wilfully murdered Piers Synnott of Corragbtloe,[4] gent.

"16. The 18 August 1579 they toke from the Nowlorte,[5] tyh ne Curre,[6] and "Ballyolaghe,[7] 80 kine and 100 swine of the goods and chattels of Thomas Master- "sonne and his tenants.

"17. The 20 August 1579 they toke from the Clone[8] 11 plough garrans of the "goods, &c., of Richard Clere, for restitution and redeminge of which gerrance he "muste have paide 11 marks.

"18. The 22 August 1579 they toke from Ballingele[9] 20 kine of the goods, "&c., of Arte McDermote and his tenants.

"19. The last of August 1579 they toke from Kylteynene[10] 8 plough gerrance "and murdered 2 good husbandmen, tenants to Thomas Mastersonne.

"20. The laste of August 1579 they toke from Corraghe Duffe[11] 35 kine and "gerrance and burned the said towne and two Reks of corne and murd'ed a "husbandman called Donnaghe McGerralde.

"21. The 15 August 1579 they toke from the Barronaghte[12] 18 plowgh "gerrance and the value of 20 marks in Household stuffe and murdered Edmond "Kenselaghe, a good freholdere.

"22. The 23 August 1579 they toke from the Towreduffe[13] 9 plowgh gerrans of "the goods, &c., of Tho^s Masterson's tenants.

"23. The 21 August 1579 from Kilbreny[14] they toke 30 kine, 60 swine, 200 "shepe and goats, and in Household stuffe [to] the value of 20 marks of the tenants "of Richard Stafforde of Rosegarlande, gent.

"24. The 6 July 1579 they toke from Hive Beddie of Ballyteige[15] 5 kine.

"25. The 8 August 1579 they toke from the forsayd Hive Beddie 7 kine and "[the] worthe [of] 5 marks in Household stuffe.

"26. From the Corballie[16] on the 4 Nov. 1579 they toke 60 kine of the goods, "&c., of Donill Gainckaghe and his tenants.

"27. The 11 Nov. 1579 they toke from the forsayd Donill and his tenants "11 kine, 1 gerrane, 60 swine, 40 shepe, and [to] the value of 20 marks in household "stuffe.

"28. The 6 Nov. 1579 They toke out of Ballybegg[17] 80 stode mares of the "goods of Thomas Mastersonne's tenants.

"29. The 8 July 1579 They toke out of the Manor of Cloughamoine[1] 40 kine "and gerrans of the goods, &c., of Conchore McWaltere and others, tenants to "Tho^s Masterson.

"30. The 22 Oct. 1579 They toke from the same manor of Cloughamoyne 30 "kine and gerrans of the tenants of Tho^s Mast'son.

"31. The 20 Nov. 1579 they toke from Ballymore[2] 21 gerrance and a hackney "of the goods, &c., of Tho^s Masterson and his tenants.

"32. The last of Oct. 1579 They toke from Ballyconloghe[3] 40 kine and gerrans, "300 shepe, swine, and goats, and in household stuffe [to] the value of 50 marks.

"33. The 3 Oct. 1579 They toke from Siggenshaggarde[4] 40 kine and gerrans, "100 shepe and swine, and [to] the value of £40 in household stuffe of the goods, "&c., of Thomas Siggens, gentlem̃, lerned in the Lawes.

"34. The 11 Nov. 1579 They toke from Robert Roche of Rochislande and his "tenants 140 kine and gerrans, 200 shepe, and in household stuffe [to] the value "of 20 marks.

"35. In the forsayd 11 Nov. 1579 they did hurne Ballingea[5] and [destroyed of "the] worth [of] £20 of corne of Thomas Mastersons.

"36. In Nov. 1579 They toke from the Manor of Cloughamoyne 16 kine and "3 gerrans of the goods, &c., of Tho^s Masterson's tenants.

"37. The 20 June 1579 they burnte the Quenes Mannor of Cloughamoyne.

"38. The 4 Jan. 1579[-80] They toke from Cowlenesmottane[6] 3 kine and 4 "gerrans of the goods, &c., of Moriertagh O'Corke.[7]

"39. The 7 Feb. 1579[-80] They came to the Stone house within the fraunchises "of Rosse, and from thence toke 8 gerrance and wounded an honeste Marchaunte "of Rosse aforesaid called William Bennet.[8]

"40. The 2^nd Feb. 1579[-80] Parte of them came to Cloughamoyne and toke "from a tenant of Tho^s Mastersons 3 kine and 3 gerrans, and toke with them the "pore tenaunte and imprisoned him upon the wodd 3 wicks, alledgine that the "pore man had made knowledge of the fasnes of some goods which they had stolne.[9]

"41. Before Eastere laste, 1580, the same Septe of Arte boye were in Com- "panies waytinge and espieinge aboute the Slane upon the Marchaunts and people "of Wexforde which muste have travayled there with their boats and went to seke "theire livinge, and the sayde Septe Robed and Spoyled manny of them as by the "Soueraigne of Wexfords Complainte withine remayninge may apere.[10]

"42. In July 1579 the said Septe toke from Ballishenan[11] 60 kine and gerrans "of the goods, &c., of Edmonde furlonge and his tenants.

"43. In Auguste 1578 They toke from Bolynkrine[12] 9 score kine and gerrans, "of the goods, &c., of Donill Roe McGerralde and other freehoulders of the Country.

"44. In Dec. 1579 They toke from the Ballybane[1] [or Bollybane] 40 kine and "gerrans, and murdered Thomas ffurlonge the owner of the said towne and goods.

"45. In August laste 1579 the said Septe assembled themselves with the Mores "and Connors to the number of 300 men, &c., &c., as before shown on p. 50 at "this date.

"46. The 8 Aprill laste 1580 the said Septe assembled themselves to the "number of 9 score and above and soe went downe to the English parte of the "County of Wexforde,[2] and there grevouslie extorted and oppressed H.M.'s subiects "with quoyne and liverey,[3] taking for every Kernaghe[4] [at] every meale beside his "meate 6^d st' ; for every Stokaghe[5] every meale beside his meate 4^d and for every "boy 3^d st' for every meale besyde his meate, and a towne free for theire gentlemen "every nighte where they did spreade,[6] besids money for theire pipers and gonners "which they call birts,[7] and in this order they continued in the Country 3 nights, "and thought to have contynued there at least a forthnighte, whereupon I made "as greate a Company as I coulde and sodaynlie came upon them, and then some "of them fled to Castles and bounde the famylies of the houses and kepte the Castelles "as longe as they coulde and wounded some of my men with shotte, and at laste "they were kylled and hanged to the nombre of 60, the reste fled away by night "and loste 4 of theire Captains, and since that time I have hanged four of theire "men that were founde spoilinge.

"47. The 20 Aprill laste 1580 Donyll Spaynaghe, [and] Collane Mc Da McShe- "mane, servaunte to Sir Edmond Butler, came to Munenecros[8] within the land of "ffernes and toke away with them 4 plowes of gerrance and carried them to fasagh "tolloe,[9] and there sold them openly.

"48. The 24 Aprill laste 1580 certaine Malefactors unknowne came to Ballye- "teigue[10] witbin the County and toke from thence 13 plowe gerrance, and did leade "and carry tbem to Gerralde McTeige Oge O'Brine.

"49. The laste of Aprill in the yere aforesaid certaine of the said Septe of Arte "boy with some of OBrins sonnes [h]is men in theire companie came to Tomquill[11] "and toke from thence 13 kine, 100 lames, and all the household stuffe of the said "towne, and carried and ledde away the same with them to the Shires of Arclowe, "which is the Earle of Ormond's lands, and to other places adyoininge therunto "under Obrin [h]is sonnes.

"A true copie agreeinge with the originall w^ch was delivered to the R^t "Hon. the Lord Kep[12] and the reste of H.M.'s Councill at Dublin.

(*Signed*) "Thomas Masterson."

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[1] S. P. Irel., vol. 73, p. 66, 11. Sir W. Pelham was Lord Justice and Chief Governor of Ireland at this time.

[2] Carrons, plough horses.
[3] Coolstuff Parish, Shelmaliere, W.
[4] Kilabeg in Clone Parish, Scarawalsh.
[5] In Coolstuff Parish, Shelmaliere W.
[6] Probably either in Ballycanew, or Monamolin, in Gorey.
[7] Kilhobocke, or Kilhowbock, a territory joining MacAmore's country on the borders of Wicklow.
[8] Rossminoge, a Parish in Gorey.
[9] In Kiltrisk and Templeshannon Parishes, Gorey and Scarawalsh.
[10] Kyle, formerly Keilesa, in Templeshanbo, Scarawalsh.

[1] Curraun, in St. Mullin's Parish, Bantry.
[2] £13 6s. 8d., representing now a multiple of about 16, so the horse would be worth £213 6s. 8d.
[3] Raheen, in Kilcomb and Kilrush, Scarawalsb.
[4] Curracloe, St. Margaret's Parish, Shelmaliere, E.
[5] Oulart, Kilnenor Parish, Gorey.
[6] Tincurry, Ballycarney Parish, Scarawalsh.
[7] Ballyoughna, Kiltrisk Parish, Gorey.
[8] A parish in Scarawalsh.
[9] Ballingale, Ballycarney Parish, Scarawalsh.
[10] Kiltillahan, Carnew Parish, Scarawalsh.
[11] Curraghduff, in Scarawalsh.
[12] Probably for the Bracknagh, a territory in Gorey.
[13] Torduff, Donaghmore Parish, Ballaghkeen, N.
[14] Kilbraney, Clongeen Parish, Shelmaliere, W.
[15] Kilmore Parish, Gorey.
[16] Corbally, Templeshannon, Scarawalsh.
[17] This may be either in Killisk or Ferns Parish.

[1] Clohamon, Kilrush Parish, Scarawalsh.
[2] In Kilbride Parish, Scarawalsh.
[3] Ballyconlore, Gorey Barony.
[4] Coolstuff Parish.
[5] Probably for Ballintlea, Kilnahue Parish, Gorey.
[6] Now part of Coolgreany, Inch Parish, Gorey.
[7] Probably for O'Rourke.
[8] Noted in the "History of Ross," p. 259.
[9] *I.e.*, had given information where the stolen goods were to be found hidden.
[10] Noted in the "History of the Town of Wexford," under this date (see p. 184). The river Slaney was the principal highway for all commerce between Wexford and Enniscorthy at this time. The report, or complaint, of the Sovereign is unfortunately missing.
[11] Ballyshannon, Newbawn Parish, Shelmaliere, W.
[12] Ballinacrane, Kiltrisk Parish, Gorey.

[1] Boleybaun, Kilcavan Parish, Gorey.
[2] *I.e.*, further south towards the Barony Forth. The offences committed by this Septe on April 8 and 9 are more detailed in the next "Note" by Sir Thos. Masterson. I have inserted them all here, although tbey relate more to the general history of the County than to Ferns.
[3] Coin and livery, *vide supra*.
[4] Kernagh or kerne, a foot soldier, clad in a shirt and short coat, armed with darts and a short bow.
[5] Stockagh or stokagh, a retainer. Stocać, in Irish, is "an idle fellow."
[6] *I.e.*, free quarters for the night as long as they stayed.
[7] Mr. Jas. Mills, of the P. R. O. D., to whom I referred this, says he does not remember to have met this word before in the sense it has here. It is probably the berpe of O'Reilly's dictionary, indicating belp or assistance.
[8] Moneycross, in Liskinfere Parish, Gorey.
[9] The wilderness of Tulla. Tullabeg, in Gorey.
[10] In Gorey.
[11] Tomcoyle, in Gorey.
[12] The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

" To the R^t Hon. the Lord Keper and the reste of H.M.'s Councill at " Dublin Aucthorised in the Lord Justice's Absence.[1]

**" A Note of the Spoyles, Robbories, extortions, and other hainous Offences which " was comitted and done by the Septe of Arte Boy upon the gentlemen ffreholders " and inhabitants of the County of Wexforde at[2] the tyme they were apprehended " and killed which was the 10th of Aprill 1580, which hereafter are particularlie " writtene.**

" 1. Item. Mawrishe McBrene, Equyllen[3] of that Septe accompanied with 48 " persons came to Rahenegowne[4] the 8th of Aprill 1580 and then and there " vyolentlie and extortionlie, with force and armes brake uppe doors, whiches,[5] " and chests, and toke with them 2 barrails of Drincke, 5 quarts of Aquavite, " 3 greate hogges, 2 muttons, 6 laīnes, 3 pecks of malte, beanes, and barley and 4/- " currante money of Englande as an allowaunce or duetie for the pipere and gonners, " which duetie they call birts,[6] of the goods and Cattell of Mawrish More McThomas, " and others of that towne, tenaunts to Mathewe fitzHenry of Meaghmaine,[7] in the " said County, gent.

" 2. Item. Arte Boy Begge McArte accompanied with 32 persons came to " Killery[8] the 8 Aprill 1580 and then and there violentlie did Robbe and extorte " and with force and armes brake uppe doores, whiches, and chestes, and toke with " them 2 barrails of drincke, 6 muttons, 3 laīnes, 3 goode mantles, and 2/- for two " birts for theire gonners, of the goods and Cattells of Dermote Oroiglie, Paddene " More, and Shane Ballaughe, with others of that towne, tenaunts to Mathew " fitzHenry of Maghmaine, gent.

" 3. Item. Cahire Owre McCahire, and Morragbe McHowrye, accompanied " with 40 persons came to Ballykeoke[9] the 8 Aprill 1580 and then and there by " extorcon and with force, &c., as before, 3 barrails of drincke, 3 hoggs, 4 muttons, " 3 laīnes, and 3/- for 3 birts, and 3 pecks of malte, beans, and barlie, of the goods " and chattels of Nicholas fitzHenry of Maghmaine[10] aforsayde.

" 4. Donyll Spainaghe, and Cahire Varraghe his brothere, accompanied with 60 " persons came to the Kereghte[11] the 8th Aprill 1580, and then and there, &c., as " before, 5 greate hogges, 4 muttons, 8 laīnes, 2½ Barrails of drincke, 4/- for 4 birts " to theire gonners, and 2 pecks of beanes, barlie, and malte, of the goods and " chattells of David More Dermote O'Hurley, and others of that towne, tenaunts " to Mathew fitzHenry abovenamed.

" 5. Item. Arte Boy McArte accompanied with 30 persons came to the Oulde " Courte[12] the 9th of Aprill 1580, and then and there vyolentlie with force and " armes, &c., as before, and took with them by extorcon all such meate and drincke " as they founde in the towne and ½ a Busbell of Ry which they gave to one horse, " and muste have had of David Suttone of the same towne, gent, besids theire " meate 14 testons[1] in ready money in recompense of their blacke rents[2] that then " they soughte for, and for birtes to their gonners.

" 6. Donyll Spayniaghe accompanied with 60 persons came to Bolifernocke[3] " the 9th Aprill 1580 and then and there violently with force and armes broke " down the ditches and gardinge of the saide towne and woounded to deathe an " honest husbandman in breakinge the same gardinge and have [taken] for certaine " of his men which he lefte in the same towne, besids the beste meate they found, " to every kernaghe[4] 6d, to eche greate stokaghe[5] a groate, and to every smale boy " 3d ster., which money soe taken oute of that towne did amounte to 22/-, of the " goods of Edmonde Prendergaste of the same towne, gent.

" 7. Item. The said Donill Spaynaghe accompanied with 54 persons came to " Prishaggarde[6] the 9th of Aprill 1580, and then and there brake doores, whiches " and chestes and tooke into his owne hands all the meate that he found in the " same Towne and besids had 25 testons in money of Gerrald Suttone and Richard " Suttone of the said towne, gents, and their tenaunts.

" 8. Item. That there was taken out of Ballysoppe[7] by the within named " Mawrish McBrene [h]is boyes the 9 April 1580 15 testons in ready money besids " such meate as they founde there, and the same boyes then and there brake upp " doores, wiches, and chests, and they received the said money by the hands of " one Richard More of the same towne, husbandman, tenant to Richard Suttone " of the same, gent.

" 9. Item. Theobalde McEdmonde Oge accompanied with 20 persons came to " Ballykally[8] 9 April 1580 and then and there with force and arms toke with them " all such meate and drink as was at that time in the said Towne, besids that they " must have had 12 testons in money of Richard fyenny and others of that Towne, " tenants to Arthur Keatinge of Kylcowane,[9] gent.

" 10. Item. That the said Mawrishe McBrene [h]is gonners the 9 April 1580 " came to Kyllowen[10] and then and there, &c., toke all the beste meate and drink " they founde, and besids had 14 testons of Nicholas Suttone fitzThomas and others " of that towne, tenants of Gerralde Suttone of Ballykerocke,[11] gent.

" 11. Item. Theobald McEdmonde Oge accompanied with others, 9th April " 1580 came to Ackare[12] and then and there by Robbery and extorcon toke from " the inhabitants of the said Towne 15 testons of money for a black bed,[13] and the " same money was delivered into his hands by Richard O'camane of the same towne, " husbandman, tenant to Gerald Suttone of Ballykerek,[1] gent.

" 12. Item. Ohregone McArte boy, accompanied with 40 persons, 9th April " 1580 came to Ballenvalley,[2] and then and there, &c., toke all the meat and drink " they founde, and brake doors, whiches, and chestes, and had for birts to their " pipers and gonners 12 testons and carried with them a brasene pan price " 15 testons for blacke rent of the goods and chattels of Robert Banne, and others, " tenants to Gerald Sutton aforesaid.

" 13. Item. Morishe McBrene Equillene before mentioned, having the rest of " his Septe in his Company, the said day and year before written, at a place in the " Sutton's parish called Crosmastene,[3] and parte of the said parish then being " present, did proclaime and judge to every of the kerne there presente 6d sterling " currant money of England, to every greate boy 4d and to every smale boy 3d, " and besids suche meate as they should finde, and whosoever could not have soe " muche as he then judged he said it shoulde be lawfull to him to take distresses " for the same. An honest man of that parish named Oonchore O'Dowlie then " being present said that it was extortion to deale with the pore people in that " sort, which Mawrishe made aunswere and said it should be soe, and whoe thought " himselfe greved to complaine and seke the beste remedy they mighte.

(*Signed*) " Thomas Maisterson."

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[1] S. P. Irel., vol. 72, No. 42, April 10, 1580. P. R. O. L. The Lord Justice was Sir Wm. Pelham.
[2] At, for up to.
[3] For equestrian, the scout-master, or leader.
[4] Raheenagurren, Kilmakilloge Parish, Ballaghkeen, N.
[5] Whiches, hutches, or bins (Mr. Berry, P. R. O.D.).
[6] Birts. See former note.
[7] Macmine, Clonmore Parish, Shelmaliere, W.
[8] This is probably for Killurn, which is near Macmine.
[9] For Ballyhoge, a Parish in Shelmaliere, W.
[10] Macmine, *vide supra*.
[11] The Kereight, in Bantry.
[12] There are two in the County, one in Bantry and the other in Shelburne. This Oldcourt is probably in Bantry, Adamstown Parish.

[1] Teston, or tester, a coin impressed with *la tête*, or *teste, du Roy;* commonly a sixpence.
[2] Black rents. These were blackmail, extorted for protection.
[3] Ballyfarnoge, in Shelburne.
[4] *Vide supra.*
[5] Stockagh is freqnent. See former note. Here " great stokagh " is opposed to " small boy," and both refer to the young men and boys, followers of the armed men.
[6] Priesthaggard, Kilmokea Parish, Shelburne.
[7] In Templetown Parish, Shelburne.
[8] Ballykelly, in Shelhurne.
[9] Kilcowan, in Bargy.
[10] Killowen, in Shelburne.
[11] Ballykeeroge, in Shelburne.
[12] Ahare, in Gorey.
[13] This is another form of the blackmailing impositions of the time. It is mentioned in the accusation of coin and livery exactions brought against the Kennedys in the Presentments of the Jury for the Co. Waterford in 1537. Black heds may have heen a charge for the entertainment of dead or non-existent men. Black men in a military roll were dead or absent men. See Presentments of Irish Grievances, Annuary, 1868-69, Jl. R. H. and A. A. of I., p. 190.

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